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# A Native Clergy for Mission Countries

A Native Clergy—
the Arguments, Tradition,
Objects and Papal Dictums

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*Native American*

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"THE
KINGDOM
OF HEAVEN
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TOOK AND BURIED IN
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UNTIL ALL OF IT WAS LEAVENED"

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# A Native Clergy for Mission Countries

A Native Clergy—the Arguments, Tradition, Objects and Papal Dictums

*By*

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# Introduction

*"The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and buried in three measures of flour, until all of it was leavened."* (Matt. 13:33).

1. We do not know to what extent Our Lord wished to apply the process of bread-making to the growth of His Church throughout the centuries. But an old-fashioned way of preparing dough has a great similarity to the process used by the Holy Spirit in giving growth and extension to the kingdom of God on earth.

2. The baker saves some fermented dough from the previous baking. This is used as leaven for his new dough. If the leaven is not strong enough, the baker can add yeast to the leaven before using it on the new batch of dough.

(a) This dough he makes with flour and water in such proportions that it forms a thick paste. Into this he imbeds the small amount of leaven, and kneads it, so as to distribute the leaven—thus forming various centres of fermentation throughout the mass.

(b) Then he puts the kneaded dough aside, in a warm place, so that the centres of fermentation within can quickly but quietly spread in all directions, impregnating all the neighboring masses of dough, which—in their turn—act as leaven for the untouched dough bordering on them. The spreading out of the leaven causes the dough to rise and to become spongy.

(c) After several hours of quiet growth, the baker kneads the dough again and adds more flour and water to the original mass.

(d) Then he puts the dough aside again for an hour or two, to give it time to rise, as before.

(e) If he wishes, he can, after an hour or two, knead the whole mass a third time, with the addition of more flour and water.

(f) After another hour of quiet fermentation and growth, the dough is ready for

(g) the baking.

3. This process of making bread closely resembles the process of growth and development in the kingdom of God from Apostolic times till now. Periods of intense missionary activity alternate with periods of quiet growth. The Holy Spirit's activity is like that of the baker. The leaven used by the Holy Spirit in the first kneading process consisted partly of new yeast and partly of leaven reserved from the dough of the previous day—the Jewish synagogue. The Jewish Apostles and disciples of Jesus were, before their call and indoctrination by Jesus, merely leaven reserved from the synagogue. This Old Testament leaven was, however, not potent enough for the "bread" of the New Testament. Therefore, the Holy Spirit brought the Apostles to Jesus, who gave them His Gospel, His Sacraments, His miraculous and charismatic powers, His priesthood, His jurisdiction, His Sacrifice and His mystical indwelling —together with His law of love. Such was the new ferment added to the old leaven of the synagogue.

(a) This potent leaven was placed by the Holy Spirit into a first measure of flour and water—the mass of peoples within the Roman Empire, and in some instances slightly beyond its borders. In the process of kneading this mass, the Holy Spirit sent forth the Apostles and disciples of Jesus into various centres of that Empire: Jerusalem, Samaria, Caesarea, Antioch, Damascus, Salamis, Iconium, Lystra, Philippi, Athens, Corinth, Rome, etc. This period is the Apostolic Age, an age of extension.

(b) From the above centres of fermentation, leavened by

the Apostles, the Holy Spirit quietly allowed the masses of people bordering on them to be impregnated. In an inconspicuous way, the fermentation spread into towns and countrysides, so that the dough began unmistakably to rise. This period is the Age of Roman Persecutions and thereafter, up to the beginning of the Germanic Invasions of the Empire. This was an age of internal growth and consolidation.

(c) In the 5th century, the Holy Spirit began to knead the dough again. He added a second measure of flour and water —handful by handful—by permitting barbaric invasions in waves, and by adding to the orbit of the Church vast regions of central, eastern and northern Europe. The invaders were largely assimilated and impregnated, and the new regions beyond the borders of the ancient Empire were in turn invaded by zealous new missionaries. Thus the Holy Spirit created new centres of Christian fermentation in Ireland, England, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Russia, Livonia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, etc. This period of extension and activity reached slightly beyond the end of the 11th century.

(d) In the 12th century there began another period of quiet consolidation. The dough was permitted to stand quietly and to expand from within.

(e) This period of missionary activity began with the discovery of new continents to the west, south and east. Here the Holy Spirit began to work on the dough once more. He added a third and final measure of flour and water in the form of the inhabitants of the Americas, Africa and the Orient. The leaven of the Old World is still being kneaded into the new mass by a lively missionary activity. When this period of missionary activity comes to a close, it may be followed—

(f) By a final period of quiet growth and fermentation from within. Will the Church thereafter be ready for—

(g) The baking?

4. This process of baking explains very well the purpose

and the necessity of a native clergy. The original leaven—the Apostolic College—was necessary for leavening the Apostolic centres of Christianity. The Apostles preached, ordained, consecrated. They spent themselves in establishing Christian communities. They spent themselves in forming new leaven, which was indigenous to Syria, Asia Minor, North Africa, Greece and Rome. They spent themselves by shedding their blood as martyrs. The Holy Spirit did not see fit to segregate the original leaven from the mass of dough in which it had been imbedded, to use it over and over again throughout the centuries on newly added measures of flour. The Holy Spirit used the Jewish Apostles as the first carriers of the ferment of the word of God. The masses leavened by them became in their turn the carriers of the Christian ferment to newly added masses.

5. The periodic division given above is made use of in chapter three of this study. It forms a process of organic growth, whose pattern may change externally, from time to time, but whose internal principle remains the same. There may be accidental variations of growth, but no essential ones. The development of a native clergy everywhere seems to have all the earmarks of a connatural, essential factor in the vital process of organic growth in the Mystical Body of Christ—the Church.

# 1.
# The Generic and Specific Objects of Mission Activity

6. It is not our aim in this chapter to prove the following theses, taken from Dogmatic Missiology. That task belongs more properly to a general treatise on missiology. We shall simply state the theses, explain them, and draw from them those conclusions that have a bearing on the development of a native clergy.

7. Thesis I. *The "conversion of pagans" and the "salvation of souls" should not be considered the specific, but the generic object, of missionary activity.*

8. For the tasks of convert-making and soul-saving do not sufficiently distinguish the aim and activity of the missionary in foreign fields from the aim and activity of the parochial priest at home.

9. Missionary activity is essentially of a transitory nature, and should come to an end long before all pagans have found their way into the Church. Parochial activity, on the other hand, is of a permanent nature, and will be necessary till the end of time.

10. If the primary purpose of the missionary were the conversion and salvation of the entire pagan population of the world, he would face an impossible task.

> The total number of priests laboring among the 1,400,000,000 pagans is only 22,000 (9,000 of these are native priests; the other 13,000 are foreign missioners). And the majority of these missioners, yearning to push out their frontiers and gain new converts, must necessarily care for and serve the souls already won. For the more converts a missioner makes, the more he becomes a pastor of souls and the less a missioner or pioneer. (Keller, *The Priest and a World Vision*, p. 30.)

11. The only remedy for this lies in a native clergy that should take over the parish work in the missions. Pope Pius XI put this into the form of a question:

> In order that you may be able to make more progress in winning over to Christ new converts from heathenism, shall it not help you greatly to be able to leave to the native clergy the parts already converted for them to guard and cultivate? (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 75.)

12. The convert-work mentioned here by the Pope is part of the missionary's generic object; the formation of native priests belongs to his specific work, as will be seen later.

As long as only 6 per cent of the 360,000 priests of the Church are available for mission work among the 1,400,000,000 pagans, while 94 per cent do pastoral and educational work at home among 300,000,000 Catholics, there is no chance for the missionary to make headway in the conversion of the "world."

13. The missionary may not ignore the conversion of pagans and the salvation of souls; but this work is subsidiary to his primary purpose.

14. THESIS II. *The specific object of missionary activity consists in firmly establishing the Church in those parts of the world where it is not yet firmly established.*

15. Pope Pius XI asks:

> What is the object of these holy missions, except that the Church of Christ may be *instituted and established* in those boundless regions? (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 74.)

The answer is evidently: yes!

16. To quote Abbot Vonier:

> We may say that the true formula for Catholic missionary zeal is this: to establish and plant the Church there where the Church has not been before. If we read the Acts of the Apostles carefully we shall certainly gain the impression that apostolic activity was essentially directed

to the foundation of churches everywhere, of Christian communities, with the full hierarchy, with the complete working of a spiritual system. The conquest of the individual soul seems to be subordinate to the vaster scheme of establishing the Church; it would be a very incomplete concept of Catholic activity in the mission fields to think only of the salvation of individuals: such is not directly our work as missionaries. The establishment and the building up of the Church is our work. We know how in practice, through the centuries, the missionary enterprises of the Church have had that characteristic of expanding a spiritual empire from a centre, with the whole apparatus of a supernatural administration. The Church progresses as a conquering power, not as one which goes forth to capture individual souls; the salvation of souls is a very definite kind of work, for it is salvation through the Church: let the Church be established and souls will be saved. (*The Spirit and the Bride,* p. 247f.)

17. The Church may be very well established long before all the inhabitants of a country are converted. England is no longer a mission country though only 3,000,000 Englishmen out of a total population of 40,000,000 are Catholic. The United States has long ceased to be a mission country though only 25,000,000 Americans out of a total population of 140,000,000 are Catholic. In both these countries the Church is established in a stable and complete manner, with a numerous indigenous clergy, and with the ordinary means of grace—the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments—within the reach of all souls of good will.

18. It is quite possible that all missionaries can, without any scruples, leave China for other mission fields when the Church of that country counts no more than 30,000,000 Catholics out of a total population of more than 400,000,000 Chinese. But for that to be permissible, they must first take care that the native Church in China possesses a numerous and well-trained indigenous clergy, and, among that number, a sufficiently large proportion of priests capable of taking over the responsibilities of an indigenous hierarchy. (Cf. Charles, *Missiologie* I. passim).

19. Thesis III. *One of the prime requisites for the firm establishment of a native Church in any country is the development of a native clergy, adequate both in number and training to take over the responsibilities of pastors and prelates.*

20. In order that China and India may become truly Catholic countries, there is need for several hundred thousand priests within the borders of each. The average priest, under ordinary circumstances, has his hands full with a flock of less than 2,000 souls.

21. It is evident that America and Europe can never provide all these priests. They must then come from China and India themselves. Missionaries are above all else the planters and organizers of a native clergy. If they do not place this duty above all their other occupations, their entire work rests on feet of clay. This duty, however, rests particularly on the shoulders of vicars and prefects apostolic and upon those of the religious superiors responsible for the mission policy of their missionaries.

22. Pope Pius XI, addressing vicars and prefects apostolic, says:

> First of all, let us recall to your attention how important it is that you build up a native clergy. If you do not work with all your might to accomplish this, we maintain that your apostolate will be not only crippled, but it will prove to be an obstacle and an impediment for the establishment and organization of the Church in those countries . . . It is necessary to supply your territories with as many native priests as shall suffice to extend by themselves alone the boundaries of Christianity, and to govern the community of the faithful of their own nation without having to depend upon the help of outside clergy. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 73-74).

23. Once the missionaries have finished their task of securely organizing the Church in China, the remaining work of convert-making and soul-saving will devolve upon the native clergy of that country. It is the Chinese clergy that must convert China; the Japanese clergy that must convert Japan; the African clergy that must convert Africa. The foreign missionary merely estab-

lishes the native Churches of China, Japan and Africa on a solid foundation. His work is a passing phase in the growth of the various Churches. He *plants,* and the native priest *waters.*

24. As long as we keep this concept of the specific aim of missionary work in mind, we shall have no difficulty in understanding the doctrinal import of the papal encyclicals in regard to an indigenous clergy.

25. In the order of intention, the specific object comes first, but in the order of execution, the generic object may for a long time consume most of the energy of the pioneer missionary. Many an individual missionary, while instructing his catechumens and ministering to his flocks in village upon village, may expend most of his time and talents in convert-making and soul-saving. But even then he ought to keep in mind that the ensemble of the mission effort of himself and his colleagues must spell the establishment of a well organized native Church with its own home-grown clergy. To this end, he should pray much, and keep his eyes open for possible candidates for Holy Orders. (Cf. Charles, *Missiologie* I, passim).

26. As long as a country's clergy is not numerically adequate and not sufficiently trained; as long as its continued growth is not assured; and as long as it has no seminaries of its own, with competent staffs—the Church in that country is not yet solidly established.

27. The native clergy is, therefore, not a mere ornament in the structure of a mission Church, but the foundation stone. As long as that foundation stone has not been well laid, the walls cannot be built, nor the roof constructed. The native clergy is not the last aim, and, as it were, the crowning reward bestowed upon a mission Church, in appreciation of its worthiness and in recognition of its loyalty and stability; it is rather the first aim, the point of departure, the indispensable instrument for making the people of a mission country worthy of God.

28. Pope Benedict XV says:

The *main* care of those who *rule* the missions should be

to raise and train a clergy from amidst the nations among which they dwell, for on this are founded the best hopes for the Church of the future . . . To obtain the expected results it is absolutely necessary to mold and build up an indigenous clergy in a way that is satisfactory. A raw and unfinished preparation, such as will allow one to be ordained, will not do by any means; but the training should be full, adequate in extent of studies and length of years, such as is given to priests of civilized nations. Neither should the indigenous priest be reared for the sole purpose of assisting foreign missionaries in subordinate ministry, but he must be fitted for this divine task, and rendered able one day to undertake with credit the administration of his own people. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, p. 444-445).

29. Pope Pius XI speaks to the vicars and prefects apostolic as follows:

> From the fact that the Roman Pontiff has entrusted to you and to your helpers the task of preaching the Christian religion to the pagan nations, you ought not to conclude that the role of the native clergy is merely one of assisting the missionaries in minor matters, and merely following up and completing their work. What is the object of these holy missions, We ask, except that the Church may be instituted and established in those boundless regions, and by what means shall the Church be built up today, among the heathen, except from those elements out of which it was formerly built up among us, that it, unless it is composed of people and clergy and religious orders of men and women recruited from its own religion? Why should the native clergy be prevented from cultivating their own field, that is, from governing their own people? (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 74-75).

30. In the 18th century, under the influence of Jansenistic ideas, sacramental absolution was widely considered to be, not a remedy, but a recompense; many confessors put it off until the sinner appeared so transformed by his contrition and by the demonstrated sincerity of his purpose of amendment, that the Sacrament of Penance became almost superfluous. In the 19th century, Holy Communion was rather commonly con-

sidered, not as a remedy and sustenance for human frailty, but as a favor, to be conceded only rarely to the common people, and, perhaps, weekly to the "perfect." Is there then any wonder, that, all unknown to themselves, the same rigoristic ideas should also have found entrance into many excellent priestly souls, responsible for the formation of a native clergy, where there is question of conferring Holy Orders?

31. The priesthood is not primarily a *personal* dignity, but a *public* service—*in obsequium plebis Dei*. When there is question of conferring a personal dignity, the personal qualifications of the candidate are of primary importance; when there is question of a public service, the want, the need and the distress of the community are the prime factors to be taken into account in determining the course of action. This does not mean that a candidate is to be ordained irrespective of his worthiness; but the sacramental grace of Holy Orders must, to some extent, be counted on to render him more apt and worthy.

32. By solemnly bringing to our attention, in their mission encyclicals, the urgent and indispensable necessity of forming a native clergy, Benedict XV and Pius XI have simply restored to the theology of Holy Orders its full meaning, and have tried to correct the opinion, all too common, which made of the priest a *privileged* individual, and of the priesthood a *favor*. In reality, the young deacons are ordained not *ad favorem*. but *ad onus presbyterii*. (Cf. Charles, *Missiologie* I).

33. In speaking of a native clergy, we cannot limit the question to a native secular clergy. Pope Pius XI is quite emphatic on this point. He tells the vicars and prefects apostolic:

> Since for the organization of the Church in your regions, it is necessary that you make use of the elements from which by Divine Providence it is composed, you ought, as a consequence, consider as one of the principal duties of your office, the founding of native religious communities of both men and women. Should not these new followers of Christ, when they feel themselves drawn to a

more perfect life, take the vows of religion? And on this point, the missioners and nuns who labor in your diocese should not let themselves be prejudiced by a love of their congregation, although this love is right and legitimate in itself, but let them learn to view these things with a certain broadness of vision. Accordingly, if there are any natives desirous of joining the older congregations, it certainly would not be right to discourage them or to impede them from joining, provided they give signs of being able to acquire the spirit of these congregations, and of being able to establish in their own countries houses of the order, not unworthy of the congregation that they have joined; still let them ponder seriously and prayerfully the question whether it might not be more expedient to found new congregations such as may answer better the genius and character of the natives, and be more in keeping with the needs and spirit of the country. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 77-78).

34. Father Charles remarks:

It is doubtless very good that the foreign missionary orders recruit native members in their mission fields, but, in order to give full development to the religious life of a country, it behooves that it be given its own purely indigenous congregations. For it is clear that in foreign religious orders, where they will always remain in a minority, natives will hardly ever become superiors. Here again the central idea of the Encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* is seen, namely, that the native should not be treated as an inferior. In the Church as a whole he has equal rights, and in his own country he possesses greater rights than the foreigner. (*Missiologie* I, p. 97).

35. Thesis IV. *Once the Church is firmly established in a mission land, the missionary's work is done there, and the native hierarchy and clergy should take complete charge.*

36. The missionary's work is done when the native Church has a sufficiently numerous and well-trained clergy and hierarchy, drawn from her own ranks, to place the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments within reach of all natives of good will; and when that Church has

the active help and support of a responsive laity, as well as the spiritual and educational advantages of her own male and female religious congregations—both active and contemplative—so that she can hold her own and continue to grow without further need of foreign missionaries or extensive foreign support.

37. The fact that a goodly percentage of vicariates or dioceses have native vicars apostolic or bishops, is not yet a certain sign that these vicariates or dioceses are no longer in need of foreign missionaries or foreign financial, educational and charitable support.

38. Since the foreign missionary is bound to treat the native priest as his equal, and should even give him preference, it is quite possible that in the later stages of missionary activity he will find himself as an assistant to a native pastor, or as a pastor under a native bishop.

39. In commenting on the encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae,* relative to this point, Father Charles says:

> It is the foreign missionary who is normally the helper; it is he who should aid the native clergy to become established; it is he who should give place to it—even the first place—as soon as it is in a condition to fill it; it is he who must leave the regions already won over to the Gospel, so as to carry to other pagan regions his zeal, his resources and his pioneer experience. If the foreign missionaries should insist on staying there and on governing the Churches already established, they will never find themselves sufficiently numerous to assume the charge of propagating the faith along with it. (*Missiologie* I, p. 97).

40. Let us quote Pope Pius XI himself:

> You ought not to permit that native priests be regarded, as it were, of inferior grade, and accordingly used only for the most humble offices of the ministry as if they had not been adorned with the same priesthood as the missioners, or as if they were not taking part in the self-same apostolate. Nay, show them the preference as being the

ones who shall one day govern the churches founded with your sweat and labors . . . Let there not be any discrimination, therefore, between European and native missionaries, and let there be no line of demarcation, but let them be united in the bonds of reverence and love. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 77).

41. Schmidlin tells us:

All writers on mission theory and even active missionaries have now reached substantial agreement in emphasizing as the final aim of the missions an autochtonous and independent Church which contains in itself its conditions of existence . . . (*MT,* p. 299).

The apostolate practiced by aliens must always be regarded as only the first foundation among a still pagan people, and that alien missionaries must be always succeeded eventually by permanent workers drawn from the particular land and people. If the missions really desire to attain their final goal and ultimate success, the moment must sooner or later arrive when the foreign forces engaged in missionary and pastoral work must without exception be relieved by native clergy. (*MT,* p. 325f).

42. Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, stated early in 1940:

The foreign clergy must not forget the fundamental principle of foreign mission work, which is the training of a native clergy and episcopate. The foreign missionary knows that he ought not to continue forever in the mission which has been entrusted to his Order or Institute. He must consider himself a temporary and transient missionary, even when his presence has to last for decades or centuries. Every people has the right to be governed and guided even in the religious domain by pastors taken from the bosom of its own families. The foreign missionary who ignores these first principles of apostolic missiology, will be only a missionary by halves. Every foreign missionary in mission lands must ever strive to aim at attaining this, namely, that as soon as circumstances allow he has to turn over the mission to a native priest. (*Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas,* Feb. 1940, Manila, p. 137).

43. In explaining the meaning of paragraph 4 of the Instruction of Nov. 23, 1845, the Propaganda's Instruction of June 7, 1853 says:

> Native priests should be raised out of that condition of quasi-servitude, abjection and contempt in which they have been held before this; and, little by little, through solid and careful training in knowledge and piety, they should be gradually made fit to perform even the principal duties in the mission; so that, eventually, rectors, shepherds and pastors from among these indigenous priests can be placed in charge of these missions, sufficiently supplied with a native clergy to no longer require foreign reserves, that is, the support, and service of European missionaries, without there being a continual need of extensive alms from Europe for the upkeep of the (native) laborers. (*Coll.* I, n. 1092).

44. Pope Benedict XV emphatically states:

> Wherever there exists an indigenous clergy adequate in numbers and in training, and worthy of its vocation, there the missionary's work must be considered brought to a happy close; there the Church is founded. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, p. 445).

And where the Church is founded and well rooted, so that it can take care of itself, the missionary should be withdrawn by his superiors, to be assigned to some other mission field. Pope Benedict XV continues:

> When superiors know that their missionaries have successfully accomplished their task and converted some nation from unhallowed superstition to the Christian faith, and have founded there a Church with sufficient prospects, they should transfer them . . . to some other nation to snatch it from Satan's grasp, willingly leaving to others whatever they have acquired for Christ. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, p. 453).

45. With such support as this, the mission theory embodied in these four theses seems to have every likelihood of being the

accepted doctrine of official Rome. It was adopted by the Louvain Mission Congress of 1925, which reduced the first mission principle to this formula: MISSIONS ARE NOT MEANT TO CONVERT PEOPLE, BUT TO ESTABLISH LOCAL CHURCHES TO CONVERT THEM. This mission theory has found a stout proponent and defender in Father Pierre Charles, the Belgian Jesuit missiologist, in his courses at Rome and Louvain.

46. From this chapter we shall go over to another that embodies official pronouncements of the Church. These two chapters should form a theological argument for a native clergy.

# 2.

# The Mind of Rome: Official Documents

47. Rome's position in regard to a native clergy has already been touched upon to some extent in the previous chapter. Here we shall present further arguments for such a clergy, throughout the world, in the form of official ecclesiastical documents, which stress the mind of the Church. First, we give a canon of the Council of Trent (A); then a number of instructions by the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, in chronological order (B); and finally papal pronouncements, likewise in chronological order (C).

48. It appears that the missionaries of the early Church did not need much, if any, prodding to make them perform their vital and all-important duty of establishing mission churches on a native basis. But the missionaries of the age of geographical discoveries and thereafter were largely loath to consider American Indians, Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, Hindus and other newly found peoples fit material for the priesthood, or at least for a rank of equality with European priests. In earlier centuries, the missionaries accommodated themselves considerably more to the natives of newly opened mission fields than did these later missionaries, who expected the natives to accommodate themselves in whole or in part to the customs and culture of the conquistadores and colonizers before they could be considered worthy of Holy Orders. The present chapter tries to show that the official policy of Rome remained true to early tradition, while the policy of missionaries often departed from it, and these had to be reminded of their traditional duty time and again. It will be noticed that the instructions of the Propaganda, under (B), do not expressly deal with, nor correct, abuses in Spanish and Portu-

guese mission fields proper. The reason for this is that the Spanish and Portuguese missions were not subject to the Propaganda. The "patronatus" granted to the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns by the popes, at the turn of the 15th century, gave to Spain and Portugal many rights and duties regarding mission policy. Wherefore, Rome had to act conjointly with their kings, and could not unilaterally criticize or correct abuses there.

49. A. The first document presented here is a canon of the Council of Trent (Sess. 23, cap. 18), giving directions for the establishment of seminaries. The canon has universal force. The dioceses of Mexico, Manila, Goa, Bombay, Lima, etc., are laid under obligation to establish seminaries just as well as the dioceses of Europe. The Canon in question reads in part:

> Since the age of youth, unless rightly trained, is inclined to follow after the pleasure of the world, and unless educated from its tender years in piety and religion before the habits of vice take possession of the whole man, will never perfectly and without the greatest and wellnigh extraordinary help of Almighty God persevere in ecclesiastical discipline, the holy council decrees that all cathedral and metropolitan churches and churches greater than these shall be bound, each according to its means and the extent of its diocese, to provide for, to educate in religion, and to train in ecclesiastical discipline, *a certain number of boys of their city and diocese,* or if they are not found there, *of their province,* in a college located near the said churches or in some other suitable place to be chosen by the bishop. Into this college shall be received such as are at least twelve years of age, are born of lawful wedlock, who know how to read and write competently, and whose character and inclination justify the hope that they will dedicate themselves forever to the ecclesiastical ministry . . . (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent,* p. 175).

50. There is no discrimination in this canon against African, American or Asiatic dioceses, no discrimination against boys of Bombay, Canton, Manila and Zanzibar. All

dioceses the world over should have seminaries for native boys. The priesthood knows no restrictions of race or color.

51. B. The following instructions of the Propaganda Fide show a consistency of policy throughout. But the expression "consistency of policy" is not adequate here. It is more than a matter of policy. The Church is a living organism, with a connatural urge to grow in consistent conformity with her nature. Her pattern of growth from infancy to adolescence, and from adolescence to maturity may vary in accidentals, but not in essentials. The essentials of the connatural urge to grow can be traced in ancient and medieval mission practice, and in the constant policy of official Rome. Where more recent mission practice has deviated in essentials from these lines, it represents a stunted and unnatural process of development. Now let us go over to the instructions themselves.

52. The idea of a Papal Propaganda was first suggested by Bl. Raymond Lull in the 13th century. In 1613, Thomas a Jesu proposed such a Congregation again. Nine years later (1622) it was founded. Since then it has unceasingly worked for a native clergy in all the missions placed under its jurisdiction.

53. In 1626, it admonished the Bishop of Japan to ordain young Japanese to the priesthood. (*Coll.* I, p. 543, col. 1). In 1630 it sent a similar instruction to the bishops of India, in which it commanded, "*omnino providendum esse*," that qualified Indians, after careful preparation and examination be promoted to Holy Orders, including the priesthood: 1) because this practice had been followed everywhere by the Apostles and bishops of the primitive Church; 2) because the natives find greater credence among their racial brethren; 3) because they have a better knowledge of the language, customs and dispositions of their fellow countrymen. (*Coll.* I, n. 62). Similarly, in 1663, addressing the bishops of India again, the Propaganda decreed, concerning the ordination of Indians, that provision be made for the formation and the numerical increase of "national priests" there, and in all regions, so that, thanks to their propagation of the Gospel throughout the whole region

and even in the homes, the Faith might take deeper roots and might not be so easily extirpated by persecution. (*Coll.* I, n. 150).

54. The Propaganda's Instruction of Nov. 23, 1845, addressed to all vicars apostolic of Eastern Asia, recommended with special urgency the training and ordination of a native clergy. It is a lengthy and important document, which deserves greater attention than our space will allow. It reads in part:

> It is proved most clearly by other very weighty documents, but especially by the example of the Apostles and the testimony of the primitive Church, that there are two principal and, as it were, necessary instruments for the propagation and establishment of the Catholic religion, namely, the sending out of bishops, whom "the Holy Spirit has appointed to rule the Church of God," *and the careful formation of a native clergy* . . .
>
> For that reason, the Roman Pontiffs, placed at the head of the universal Church by Divine authority, have always most zealously seen to it from most ancient times until now . . . that measures were taken for the security and welfare of religion by multiplying bishops as far as possible, and by setting up churches as local conditions permitted . . .
>
> Further, it is a fact known to everyone and confirmed by a wealth of documentary evidence, that the Roman Pontiffs, in accordance with the holiness of their supreme office, have exerted themselves with might and main that those, setting out for different parts of the world and placed as bishops over the churches there, promote most vigorously the formation of a native clergy . . .
>
> But sad experience shows that the outcome, which the Apostolic See could justly have promised itself, did not correspond to these exertions and uninterrupted efforts. It would not, indeed, be right to leave unmentioned several bishops and vicars apostolic, worthy of all praise, especially in China and neighboring kingdoms, who, either lately when occasion offered, or already for a long time, have labored earnestly and with fruitful results on the formation of a native clergy. It must, therefore, likewise

be mentioned, or rather it must give cause for great rejoicing, that the Catholic Faith has there taken such deep and widespread roots, that, as a naturalized doctrine, it can long endure, yea, for centuries, and remain unshaken, so that long and severe persecutions on the part of pagans can never destroy it.

At the same time, however, there also hover before the mind's eye the extremely pitiable inhabitants of so many regions from the most distant reaches of the earth, with hands outstretched in supplication to the Holy Chair of Peter. Among these the vineyard of the Lord was planted long ago with great labor; nevertheless, due to a lack of husbandmen, certainly ascribable to the failure to form a native clergy, that vineyard finds itself almost at the point of drying up, or, at best, of sending forth scarcely any new sprouts, so that it still presents the appearance of a church just being brought into existence . . .

Such, then, is the nature of the causes that have led this Sacred Congregation to judge it most opportune to exhort and admonish all the individual heads of the missions time and again to pursue so important a matter with united efforts and with greater exertions. Wherefore, in the general assembly of May 19, of the current year (1845), dealing with the deliberations of the Council of Pondicherry,—in order to confirm the distinguished Bishop of Drizipara and other bishops more and more in the holy purpose of which there is question here,—it decided to decree definitively and to command in the Lord, by means of this instruction, to be sent to all archbishops, bishops, vicars apostolic and other mission superiors, that which follows:

1) First, that all the heads of missions without exception, by whatever title they may hold their office, actively assist in the promotion and consolidation of the Catholic religion in such a way that, where there is still a lack of bishops, they may be appointed as soon as possible; and further, that, where the vastness of the regions either demands or permits, the number of bishops may be increased by dividing up the territories, so that the churches may, at long last, be constituted in full hierarchical form.

2) Further, they must with equally ardent zeal provide for this—which indeed constitutes their principal duty—that from among the native Christians, i.e., from the inhabitants of these territories, competent clerics be formed and priests ordained, through whose instrumentality the Faith and the number of the faithful may grow, the practice of ascetical discipline may become stronger, and the stability of the Catholic religion may be procured. To this end it will be extremely helpful, nay rather, necessary, to found seminaries in which the young men called to the priesthood by God may be long and faithfully trained and imbued with sacred doctrine.

3) The native levites must be formed by instruction in all knowledge and piety, and carefully trained for the sacred ministry, and that in such a way, that, in accordance with the long cherished wish of the Apostolic See, they may become fit for every ecclesiastical office, even that of governing the missions and of becoming worthy of the episcopal character. That this most important matter may turn out with greater surety, and may in time be carried through with advantage to religion, it behooves that those who are designated for such a burden become used to it by bearing it. Therefore, the mission superior should gradually give to those among the native clergy, whom they consider more outstanding, more important offices to fill, and should not refuse, when the opportunity arises, to depute them as their own vicars.

4) Hence, the custom of lowering the native priests to a status of clerical assistants, a custom justly obnoxious to them, must be done away with and entirely abrogated. Yea rather, gradually, and with as much prudence as possible, the following rule must be introduced that, among apostolic laborers, whether they be natives or Europeans,—other things being equal,—the order of preference handed down from ancient mission practice is to be observed, so that honors, offices and promotions are bestowed on those who have exercised their sacred trust the longest.

5) Furthermore, in many places it has come to this, that the formation of a native clergy is neglected and is considered of lesser importance, and that the evangelical laborers have become accustomed to admitting lay cate-

chists as their assistants in the ministry. And, perhaps, they frequently found out that their work was of great help in spreading the Faith. But since they often did not work sufficiently in conformity with the mind of the Church and with the nature of the ecclesiastical ministry, and, since it has become known that grave abuses have frequently arisen, either from the lack of experience of the aforementioned catechists or from their licentiousness, the Sacred Congregation has never ceased to warn mission superiors, that, while such lay help remained necessary—due to the absence or scarcity of a native clergy—they must endeavor to select and train none but men of approved morals and outstanding faith. Moreover, for this very reason, it commands that their full attention be given to the formation of a native clergy, so that, in the course of time, young levites and the new clergy may take over the posts of the catechists and occupy them more faithfully . . . (*Coll.* I, n. 1002).

55. The Instruction of Sept. 8, 1869 admonished the vicars apostolic of Eastern India once again to devote all their zeal and efforts to the formation and training of native priests—not only of regular, but also of secular priests:

> The Most Eminent Fathers (of the Propaganda) have noted that, with the exception of several vicariates in which the condition of native clerics shows itself to some degree commendable, in the remaining missions of Eastern India there are either very few native priests, or such that are not possessed of those qualities most necessary in Christ's ministers; in some (vicariates), too, there have crept into this clergy not a few abuses. Wherefore, they (the Cardinals of the Propaganda) have decided to stimulate the zeal of vicars apostolic, so that they may set their minds with all diligence to the furtherance of the formation of native priests. . . . Although it must be admitted that in some missions of Eastern India, in which regulars are working, the life of the native clerics, who belong to these organizations as professed tertiaries or oblates, are a help and an example to the faithful, the most weighty reasons nevertheless decidedly urge upon the vicars apostolic that they apply themselves, with all diligence and

with corresponding action, to the formation of a native *secular* clergy; and that they admit to religious profession only those who appear to have the necessary vocation. (*Coll.* II, n. 1346).

56. Among the 63 questions which the Propaganda's encyclical letter of June 1, 1877 formulated for the periodical report of vicars apostolic "ad limina," three deal with the native clergy. They are Questions 7, 8 and 9. We give them here:

> 7) A separate report must be made relative to the native clergy, especially with reference to its fitness, the mental qualities with which it seems to be equipped, and the hope that can be placed in it;
>
> 8) In what way provision is made for the education and training of native clerics: especially, whether a seminary exists; whether seminarians are kept separate from other students; what branches are taught them, and whether the regulations laid down by the Council of Trent are adhered to in whole or in part; under whose management the seminary has been placed; finally, if none exists, whether one can, somehow, be founded, or the lack made good;
>
> 9) For what duties native priests can be employed, and whether they are excluded from all superiorship with respect to European missionaries. (*Coll.* II, n. 1473).

The second question in this group shows clearly that the canon of the Council of Trent, dealing with the establishment of seminaries, is meant for mission countries as well as for Europe.

57. In the section dealing with seminaries, the Instruction of Oct. 18, 1883, directed to the vicars apostolic of China, says:

> Among the principal arguments dealt with by the vicars apostolic (in their regional synods), that one is indeed of high importance, which has reference to the training and instruction of a native clergy. For that reason, the Cardinals are deeply concerned about this important matter. They are mindful of the fact that the Christian religion will never take deep root in China, or attain a

healthy growth there, unless natives of that country become members of the clergy, and by their teaching, but especially by their example, shine as models for their own countrymen, and by the spectacle of their own holy lives show their countrymen the meaning of the Christian virtues. In order, then, to attain such precious boons, the Cardinals have decided that the following be pointed out to all bishops. . . .

They call attention first to the instruction of Nov. 23, 1845 (given in part above), then to the canon of the Council of Trent (Sess. 23, cap. 18) relative to the foundation of seminaries (also given in part above). They then recommend in general the subordination of the young (native) priests under an elderly, experienced priest, but eventually their selection for the administration of whole districts, if they should prove themselves qualified for this task. (*Coll.* II, n. 1606, p. 188-191).

58. In an instruction of March 19, 1893, the Propaganda exhorted the East Indian bishops to strive with all means at their disposal to train and ordain native priests. They should never think that they have done enough for their entrusted dioceses, unless they have devoted towards the formation of a native clergy their most assiduous and expert care. *Tanti id momenti ab hac Sacra Congregatione ducitur ad stabile Missionum bonum, quanti nihil fortasse aliud.* Native priests should be increased in proportion to the number of Christians, since Western missionaries no longer suffice for the needs of the faithful and are required primarily for the conversion of unbelievers, while, on the other hand, the spiritual charisms of vocation must, together with Christianity, find an entrance *to all races* and must be cultivated by careful training. (*Coll.* II, n. 1828, p. 288).

59. C. Even though the instructions of the Propaganda Fide enumerated above have the same force as if they were personal pronouncements of the Supreme Pontiff himself, we shall not content ourselves with their testimony, but shall bring forward constitutions, apostolic letters and encyclicals issued

directly by a number of popes, all within the last three centuries.

60. In the year 1659, Pope Alexander VII wanted the vicars apostolic setting out for the kingdoms of Tonkin, China and Cochin-China to be expressly reminded by the Propaganda that

> the principal reason for sending bishops into these regions was, that these should attend by all ways and means to the training of the (native) young men in such wise that they might become fit for the priesthood, and might be ordained by them (i.e., by the vicars apostolic), and stationed throughout these vast regions in places of their own, in order to take care of Christian affairs there under their direction.

Therefore the Pope commanded them to keep this goal always before their eyes,

> so as to guide, train, and in due time, promote to holy orders as many and as well trained candidates as possible. (*Coll.* I, p. 543, col. 1).

61. The Constitutions *Sacrosancti Apostolatus officii* (Jan. 18, 1658), and *Super cathedram* (Sept. 9, 1659) by the same Pope; the Constitutions *In excelsa* and *Speculatores* (both of Sept. 13, 1669) by Clement IX; and the Constitution *Decet Romanum Pontificem* (Dec. 23, 1673) by Clement X all reveal the same tenor:

> that the principal end in view, in sending those appointed as episcopal vicars apostolic to China, Tonkin, Cochin-China and Siam, was, that clerics and priests might be formed from among the native Christians, i.e., from among the inhabitants of those regions, and that, with the growth of the Faith and the increase in the number of Christians, the practice of ecclesiastical discipline might be gradually introduced. (*Coll.* I, p. 543, col. 1).

62. By an apostolic letter of April 1, 1680 (*Onerosa Pastoralis*), Innocent XI ordered the number of vicars apostolic in China increased,

so that those vast regions might be rightly and fruitfully governed, and that each of the vicars might, above all else, aim at the formation and ordination of native priests. (*Coll.* I, p. 543, col. 1-2).

63. How far this venerable pontiff went, in order to promote most efficaciously the organization of a native clergy in the kingdoms mentioned, can be gathered from the fact that among other powers he gave his legates, the Bishops of Hierapolis and Berito (Pallu and de la Mothe-Lambert) even the

> power of forcing the vicars apostolic, with penalties inflicted by the sacred canons, to train and ordain native, or indigenous, clerics and priests, (*cogendi Vicarios Apostolicos, poenis a sacris canonibus inflictis, ad instruendos, et ordinandos clericos et sacerdotes naturales sive indigenas*), so that the way might gradually be prepared also for the erection of a native hierarchy. (*Coll.* I, p. 543, col. 2.)

This Pope is reported to have said to Msgr. Pallu that a single native priest is worth more than 50,000 pagan conversions.

64. To the above papal pronouncements must be added others that follow similar lines, such as the apostolic letter *Dudum felicis* (Dec. 7, 1703) by Clement XI; the Decree of April 16, 1736 by Clement XII; several Constitutions of Benedict XIV; an encyclical letter (May 16, 1775) of Pius VI; and repeated utterances of Gregory XVI.

65. Pope Leo XIII, in his superb Epistola *Ad extremas Orientis oras* of June 24, 1893, explored the whole problem again, and gave emphasis to his words by the foundation of a Papal seminary in Kandy, Ceylon, to which he gave this motto; *India ad Indis evangelizetur*. The letter reads in part:

> One thing still remains to be pointed out, upon which the salvation of India greatly depends; to it We wish you, Venerable Brethren, and all who love humanity and the Christian name, to direct your attention in a larger measure. It is namely this, that the preservation of the Catholic Faith in India will be insecure, and its propa-

gation uncertain, as long as there is wanting in the ranks of the clergy a select group of natives, who have been properly prepared for the priestly office, and who do not merely serve as helpers to the foreign missionaries, but are able by themselves to administer the Christian body well in their own territories. . . . Therefore, if we are resolved to have regard for the salvation of the Indians, and to establish the Christian religion in those vast regions with the hope of long survival, it is necessary to select from among the natives such, who, after a careful preparation, can discharge the priestly office and functions. . . . Lastly, we must take ancient practice into consideration, and religiously hold on to what we find laid down to advantage in olden times. Now, in the exercise of the apostolic office, it was laid down as a traditional custom and a settled practice by the Apostles: first, to instruct the multitude in the Christian precepts; and then to bestow holy orders upon several candidates taken from among the natives (*ex popularibus*), and to raise them even to the episcopal office. Following their example, the Roman Pontiffs later have everlastingly been in the habit of putting apostolic men under the obligation of striving with might and main to choose a native clergy from among the natives (*ex indigenis*) wherever a Christian community was sufficiently well rooted. Therefore, in order that provision be made for the safety and the propagation of the Catholic religion, there ought to be trained for the priesthood Indians, who are quite able to administer the sacred mysteries properly, and to govern their Christian countrymen, no matter what times may befall. (*A.S.S.* Vol. XXV, p. 718-719.)

66. Pope Leo XIII came back to this subject again in his Bull *Quae, mari sinico* of Sept. 17, 1902, which has reference to the Church in the Philippines. We quote a few sentences:

> Since it is proved by experience that a native clergy is most useful everywhere, the bishops must make it their care to increase the number of native priests, in such a manner, however, as to form them thoroughly in piety and character, and to make sure that they are worthy to be entrusted with ecclesiastical charges. Let them gradu-

ally appoint to the more responsible positions those whom practical experience will prove to be more efficient . . . (*A.S.S.* Vol. XXXV, p. 271.)

How much the Church thinks of seminaries for the young men who are educated with a view to the priesthood, is clear from the decree of the Council of Trent, by which they were first instituted. The bishops should therefore make the most diligent effort to have one in each diocese, in which young candidates for the sacred warfare may be received and trained for a holy living and in the sciences . . . Where there is no seminary the bishops will have candidates educated in one of the seminaries of the neighboring dioceses. (*Ibid.* p. 272.)

67. The splendid apostolic letter *Maximum Illud,* of Nov. 30, 1919, by Pope Benedict XV, and the equally splendid encyclical letter *Rerum Ecclesiae,* of Feb. 28, 1926, by Pope Pius XI, both dealing exclusively with the foreign missions, should be read and reread in their entirety.

68. Pope Benedict XV says in part:

*The main care of those who rule the missions should be to raise and train a clergy from amidst the nations among which they dwell . . . As the Catholic Church of God is foreign to no nation, so should every nation yield its own sacred ministers* . . . The Apostolic See has always urged the heads of the missions to look upon this grave duty with the care it deserves and to carry it out diligently . . . Yet, notwithstanding the Roman Pontiff's insistence, it is sad to think that there are still countries where the Catholic Faith has been preached for several centuries, but where you will find no indigenous clergy, except of an inferior kind; sad to think that there are nations, that have fully seen the light of the Gospel, have reached such a degree of civilization as to possess men distinguished in every department of secular knowledge, who for many centuries have come under the salutary influence of the Gospel and the Church, and have as yet been able to yield neither bishops to rule them, nor priests to direct them. Therefore, to all appearances, the methods used in various places to rear a clergy for the missions

have up to now been lame and faulty. In order to remove this inconvenience, We order the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide to establish wherever there is need, seminaries for the benefit of each country and several dioceses simultaneously, or to see to their foundation or to their proper management, and We enjoin on the Congregation to be particularly careful to watch the growth of the new clergy in vicariates and other missions. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, pp. 444-446.)

69. The encyclical letter *Rerum Ecclesiae,* issued by Pope Pius XI on Feb. 28, 1926, devotes much space to a native clergy, native seminaries and native religious congregations. We limit our quotations here chiefly to passages not quoted elsewhere in this study. The Pope, quite solemnly addressing the vicars and prefects apostolic, says:

> It is now time, Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, that We speak to you, who, because of your long labors and wise service as missionaries among the heathen, have been found worthy to be promoted by Apostolic authority to the office of vicars and prefects . . . What your principal duties are and what you especially have to guard against in the discharge of these duties, has already been set forth with such wisdom and eloquence by Our immediate Predecessor that nothing along that line needs to be added to his words. However, over and above that, We deem it well, Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, to make known Our own mind on certain matters.
>
> *Before everything else, We call to your attention the importance of building up a native clergy.* If you do not work with all your might to attain this purpose, We assert that not only will your apostolate be crippled, but it will become *an obstacle and an impediment to the establishment and organization of the Church in those countries.* We gladly recognize and acknowledge the fact that in some places steps have already been taken to provide for these needs by the erection of seminaries in which native youths of promise are well educated and prepared to receive the dignity of the priesthood, and are trained to instruct in the Christian Faith members of their own race. But in spite of all this work, We are still a great

distance from the goal which We have set for ourselves.

You certainly have not forgotten how Our Predecessor, Benedict XV of happy memory, was saddened by this fact. He wrote: 'It is sad to think that there are still countries where the Catholic Faith has been preached for several centuries, but where you will find no indigenous clergy, except of an inferior kind; sad to think that there are nations, that have fully seen the light of the Gospel, have reached such a degree of evilization as to possess men distinguished in every department of secular knowledge, who for many centuries have come under the salutary influence of the Gospel and the Church, and have as yet been able to yield neither bishops to rule them, nor priests whose teaching authority is respected as it should be by their fellow citizens! . . . (*A.A.S.* Vol. 18, p. 73-74.)

In some places . . . seminaries have been erected for receiving native students . . . What has been done here and there by some, We heartily wish, nay We command, shall likewise be done in the case of the other missions, so that no native of promise may be kept away from the priesthood and apostolate, provided he give signs of a true vocation . . . (*Ibid.* p. 76.)

But, if each of you must take care to procure as large a number as possible of native ecclesiastical students, you must moreover strive to form and fashion them in the sanctity becoming the priestly life, and to such spirit of the apostolate joined to zeal for the salvation of their own brethren, as to render them ready even to lay down their own lives for the members of their own tribe and nation. It is, moreover, most important that at the same time these ecclesiastical students receive a scientific education both in the sacred and profane sciences. This education should follow the most approved methods. The course of studies should not be unduly shortened or curtailed in any of its important features . . . (*Ibid.* p. 76-77.)

Anyone who looks upon these natives as members of an inferior race or as men of low mentality makes a grievous mistake. Experience over a long period of time has proven that the inhabitants of these remote regions of the East and of the South frequently are not inferior to us at all, and are capable of holding their own with us, even in mental ability. But if you find extreme slowness of mind

in the case of men who live in the very heart of barbarous regions, this is due to the conditions of their lives, for since the exigencies of their lives are limited, they are not compelled to make great use of their intelligence. You, Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, can bear testimony to the truth of what We write, and We Ourselves can testify to these facts since We have here under Our very eyes the example of certain native students attending the colleges of Rome who not only are equal to the other students in ability and in the results they obtain in their studies, but frequently even surpass them. (*Ibid.* p. 77.)

70. Father Charles, speaking of the mission encyclicals of 1919 and 1926, says:

> Addressing themselves to the vicars and prefects apostolic as well as to the mission superiors, Benedict XV and Pius XI take up the serious question of the immediate and complete formation of a numerous native clergy. They grant that something has been done, but too timidly and too tardily. We are still very far removed from our goal: *nimio longius absumus.* And with a supreme gesture they annihilate one by one the old objections. During the 19th century it was thought that a native clergy could not be recruited till after three or four generations were Christian, and that the pagans had in their blood some unknown "ferment," that had to be gradually filtered out. These prejudices already hindered the formation of an adequate native clergy for the splendid Japanese Church of the 16th century. They also made the foundation of native sisterhoods impossible in Paraguay. They are prejudices which, since the publication of *Rerum Ecclesiae,* take the form of disobedience.
>
> It is all too clear that neither Roman nor barbarian Europe had to import foreign missionaries for three or four generations, and that the famous "ferment to be filtered out" did not hinder the first missionaries of Europe from recruiting immediately on the native soil the needed clergy. Pius XI calls attention to this explicitly and draws the practical conclusion. And let no one say that the Western world was better prepared to receive the Gospel than the Eastern world or America. Truthful history gives the lie to that legend. India, China and Japan out-

distanced by far, in every domain, the Merovingian civilization. The art, the poetry, and even the philosophy of the Orient can very well bear comparison with Greek culture. (*Missiologie* I, p. 96.)

71. Fortunately, not all mission superiors waited three or four generations before selecting candidates for the priesthood. For example, the mission in South Shantung, China, was opened in 1882, where a congregation of 158 souls constituted the entire Christian population. Two years later, in 1884, a seminary for candidates for the priesthood was founded. In 1918, Bishop Henninghaus, S.V.D., of South Shantung wrote to Msgr. Freri in New York, in response to an article by the latter on a "Native Clergy for Mission Countries" published in 1917 in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. The Bishop says:

> In our mission, in which there are only new converts, save for a few old families, we have had to admit boys from newly converted families; in fact, among the 23 priests who, since the beginning of the mission, have gone forth from our seminary, a number are new Christians. (*Native Clergy for Mission Countries,* II, Press of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, New York, 1918, p. 4.)

It is from this seminary that Cardinal Tien went forth. He was a pagan till the age of eleven. His elevation to the cardinalate by our present Pope, Pius XII, puts Rome's stamp of approval on a policy of selecting candidates for ordination from new Christians.

72. Not all mission superiors heeded the words of Benedict XV and Pius XI. Our present Holly Father, Pius XII had occasion to refer to our subject in his mission encyclical *Saeculo Exeunte* of June 13, 1940. In addressing the Patriarch of Lisbon and the Archbishops and Bishops of Portugal, he remarked:

> One thing especially we have at heart. In the Archdiocese of Goa, native priests and native religious abound. We desire that in the ecclesiastical territories of other Portu-

guese dominions, too, a generous beginning should be made to have as soon as possible a flourishing and exemplary native priesthood, as well as numerous consecrated virgins native to the soil of the country where they carry on the work of their apostolate.

It has always been the glory of Portugal to associate in the fortunes of the home-land the peoples of her dominions beyond the sea, and to raise them to the same level of Christian culture and civilization. We count on this praiseworthy tradition for the realization in these our times of the Church's keenest desire, namely, the education and formation of a native clergy. Dearly Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, you will then do all in your power to bring it about that this hope may not be in vain, but may very soon be happily realized. (*A.A.S.* Vol. 32. p. 255.)

73. A final word of Pope Pius XII deserves mention here. It is taken from an allocution of June 24, 1944:

> In 1889, the year in which the Work of St. Peter the Apostle was founded, the Catholic missions had 870 native priests and 2700 native seminarians. On the 50th anniversary of its foundation (i.e., in 1939) the number had increased eightfold. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical districts entrusted to native bishops have grown to more than 70. . . .
>
> During this second most formidable war, we do not hesitate to look towards the future with a serene eye . . . In fact, the work done during the interval (between the two World Wars) was expressly undertaken with the intention of giving to the missions the character, not of foreign institutions, but of institutions proper to the country. Hence, the demand for native priests and native sisters; hence also the directive that the indigenous character, traditions and customs must be preserved intact in so far as they are reconcilable with the divine law. The missionary is an apostle of Jesus Christ. He does not have the duty to transplant a specifically European culture into mission countries, but rather to render those peoples, that sometimes boast cultures of a thousand years' standing, fit and ready to accept and assimilate the elements of Christian life and ways, which are easily and naturally

brought into harmony with every sound culture, and which impart to that culture the full power and capacity of securing and guaranteeing human dignity and happiness. Native Catholics must become truly members of the family of God and citizens of His kingdom, without, for all that, ceasing to be citizens of their earthly homeland.

The great aim of the missions is *to establish the Church* in new countries and to make her take such firm root there that she will one day be able to live and grow without the aid of mission work. Mission work is *not an end in itself*: it aims at that high goal (i.e., the establishment of the Church) with ardor, but it withdraws when that (goal) has been attained. (*A.A.S.* Vol. 36, p. 210.)

74. This brings to an end our theological argument. Other theological arguments could perhaps be based on the unity of the human race, on the principle of Christian fellowship, and on the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ.

# 3.

# Native Clergy in the Traditional Practice of the Church

75. *First Period.* When Jesus walked this earth, He gathered about Him only Jewish Apostles and disciples. To these He said on the day of His Ascension:

> All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go, therefore, and *make disciples of all nations,* baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you . . . (Matt. 28: 18-20.)

Though His message was to be preached only to the Jewish nation during His earthly life, it was meant for all nations; though He made disciples only of the Jewish nation, His Jewish disciples were to make disciples of all nations.

76. St. Paul expresses the mind of Christ in these words:

> Here there is not "Gentile and Jew," "circumcised and uncircumcised," "Barbarian and Scythian," "slave and freeman"; but Christ is all things and in all. (Col. 3: 11.)

Therefore, in the Church of Christ, which was to have disciples of all nationalities, there was to be no discrimination in favor of the Jews.

77. However, in the beginning, the Apostles still gave the Jews the first opportunity to become disciples of Jesus. The Apostles saw the Christian community of Jerusalem grow rather rapidly at first, but they soon had to give up hope of incorporating the main body of Palestinian Jews. Even those

who became Christians were in large part a disturbing element in the Church. This experience was repeated in Jewish centres throughout the Roman Empire. The Apostles had but limited success among the actual Jews wherever they went. Duchesne says of the first mission journey of Paul and Barnabas:

> They stopped in towns where there were Jewish colonies, and on the Saturday sought the synagogue, and there began their preaching. Among the actual Jews they had but limited success; but the Jewish proselytes, "the people who feared God"—that is, *pagans* who had more or less accepted the monotheism of the Jews—were more ready to listen. There were many conversions among these, and even among the *actual pagans,* to whom the apostles turned when banished from the synagogues. After four or five years, the missionaries went back to Antioch, leaving behind in each town where they had sojourned, a little Christian community, distinct from the Jewish communities, and organized under the guidance of "elders" (*presbyteri,* priests) installed by the apostles (Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church,* Vol. 1, p. 18.)

78. It is possible that St. Peter spent some time in Antioch and Rome before the Apostolic Council (49 A.D.), and that he returned to Rome by way of Antioch shortly after the Council, perhaps in 51 A.D. The Roman Church appears to date from about that time. The Gospel was first preached, as customary, in the synagogues, but the prospects for conversions were poor. Duchesne tells us:

> It is impossible to estimate exactly the proportion of Jewish Christians and pagan Christians, to be found at any given moment, in the Roman community. One thing however is certain, and that is, that directly it was divorced from the synagogue the prospects of evangelization among the pagans became more favorable, far more favorable. (Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church,* Vol. 1, p. 42.)

79. The Jews and the Jewish Christians were clearly a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel. Cayré says:

It was the object of the Judaeo-Christians to combine faith in Jesus Christ with the observance of the Law of Moses (circumcision, sabbath, pure and impure meats) and to maintain the Levitical worship in the Temple of Jerusalem, which they wished to remain the centre and the moral director of the Church. A number of uncompromising converts from the Pharisees, gave to all this the force of dogma, and asserted that without these observances there was no hope of salvation. (Cayré, *Patrology* I, p. 99.)

80. Such being the attitude of their fellow Jews, the Apostles could hardly be asked to limit their choice to Jews when there was question of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops for those Churches that were not entirely of Jewish membership.

81. Paul took a momentous step when he consecrated Timothy, the son of a Greek father and a Jewish mother, bishop; but he took a still more momentous step when he consecrated Titus, both of whose parents were Greek. In his Epistle to Titus, St. Paul said:

I left thee in Crete that thou shouldst . . . appoint presbyters in every city, as I myself directed thee to do. (*Tit.* 1:5.)

These presbyters (priests) are evidently natives of Crete.

82. The Apostles, who were itinerant missionaries, and not resident heads of the Churches they founded, chose priests and bishops from among the leaders of each local Christian community. Duchesne tells us:

The first Christian communities were governed at the outset by apostles of various degrees, to whom they owed their foundation, and by other members of the evangelizing staff. But in the nature of things, this staff was ambulatory and unsettled, and the founders soon entrusted specially instructed and trustworthy neophytes with the permanent duties which were necessary to the daily life of the community: such as the celebration of the Eucharist, preaching, preparation for baptism, the presidency in assemblies, and temporal administration. Sooner or later

the missionaries were obliged to leave these young communities to themselves, and the entire direction of affairs fell into the hands of the *leaders who had formed part of the local community.* (Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church, Vol.* 1, p. 66.)

83. Pope St. Clement, a disciple of the Apostles and the third successor of St. Peter in the See of Rome, gives the following testimony relative to the practice of the Apostles:

> The Apostles preached the Gospel to us by (the command of) the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ Himself was sent forth from God. Therefore, Christ was (sent) by God, and the Apostles were (sent) by Christ. Both these things were done in an orderly way, according to the will of God. Having therefore received their orders, and being filled with certainty by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the word of God, they went forth, full of the Holy Spirit, proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. While they thus preached through the countries and cities, *they constituted their first fruits*—after testing them in the spirit—*bishops and deacons for those who were to believe.* (1 Cor. cap. 42.)

84. There are other witnesses and authorities that might be cited here, but we have to sum up this Apostolic period, and we cannot do it better than by quoting Pope Pius XI:

> Perhaps, sufficient attention has never been paid to the method whereby the Gospel began to be propagated and the Church of God to be established all over the world . . . From the earliest literary monuments of Christian antiquity it is abundantly evident that *the clergy placed in charge by the Apostles, in every community of the faithful, were not brought in from without, but were chosen from the natives of the locality.* (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 74.)

85. *Second Period.* From the Death of the Apostles till the Beginning of the Germanic Invasions. Peter, the first Bishop of Rome, did not perpetuate a Jewish hierarchy in his See. Linus, his first successor, seems to have been a Roman. The Liber Pontificalis asserts that Linus's home was in Tuscany, and that his father's name was Herculanus. History has

recorded nothing further about his ancestry. Anacletus, the second successor of St. Peter, is designated as a Greek by the *Catalogus Felicianus.*

86. The writers of the canonical books of the New Testament were all Jews with the exception of St. Luke. But in post-Apostolic times there is only one Jew mentioned among the Fathers and Ecclesiastical writers. He is Hegesippus, the Controversialist. Thus the Jewish influence dwindled fast.

87. During this second period, missionary work was confined almost entirely to the Roman Empire, as it was in the first period. But it reached out from urban centres to the surrounding towns and countrysides. Under the guidance of the local hierarchy, the work of evangelization entered, at the turn of the 1st century, upon a new phase. It was no longer the apostles, prophets and teachers, who gave the impulse to the missionary apostolate, but the heads of the *established Churches.* In the measure in which the charismatic element diminished in the Church, the role of missionary fell to the lot of the local bishops and their auxiliaries, both priests and deacons. Msgr. Batiffol says:

> The successors of the Apostles are not missionaries, but bishops. Christianity spreads from then on little by little, mysteriously, extending itself step by step by means of the great Roman highways . . . Tertullian and Cyprian looked upon the propagation of Christianity as a genealogy of Churches, with a mother Church begetting daughter Churches . . . The propagation of the Gospel became a multiplication of Churches analogous to the propagation of cells. (*L'Eglise naissante et le Catholicisme,* pp. 487-488.)

88. This does not mean that missionary activity by individuals disappeared altogether, and that the hierarchy, in its evangelizing work, did not have helpers recruited from without. St. Justin, a simple layman, was such an itinerant helper. Eusebius says of Pantaenus, the founder of the catechetical school of Alexandria:

> It is related that he showed such an ardor and such a

courageous love for the word of God, that he distinguished himself as a preacher of the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the Orient, and that he went as far as India. *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V, 10, 2.)

And the historian adds:

There were still (at that time) many preachers of the Gospel who sought earnestly to use their divine zeal, after the example of the Apostles, for the extension and establishment of the divine doctrine. (*Ibid.*)

But the majority of these missionaries remain unknown, as Eusebius remarks:

It is impossible for us to enumerate the names of all that became shepherds or evangelists in the Churches throughout the world in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles. (*Historia Ecclesiastica,* III, 37, 4.)

89. During this period, simple lay people were frequently the messengers of the Gospel. We shall never know here below how much the Church owes to these nameless apostles. Slaves, tutors, medical men, nurses, chambermaids, traders, soldiers, travellers, martyrs in the arena, all labored for the spread of the Faith by their words and example. (Cf. Descamps, *Histoire Générale Comparée des Missions,* pp. 107-113).

90. Perhaps the main reason why missionaries during the 2nd period hardly went beyond the borders of the Roman Empire was, that they imagined they had reached the ends of the inhabited world. They believed, almost to a man, that the Gospel had already been preached to all nations. Texts from the Fathers, bearing out this statement, can be found in Charles, *Les Dossiers de l'Action Missionnaire,* Louvain, 1938, Dossier 7.

91. The Holy Spirit permitted these erroneous opinions, based on defective geographical knowledge, to run their course unhindered, for He had not been sent to teach men geography. This human error gave the Church of the 2nd period a chance to consolidate her gains, and to penetrate into the country districts. Besides, after the peace of Constantine, there was such

an influx of pagans into the Church inside of the Roman Empire that the bishops and priests had all they could do to evangelize them and to supply pastors for the new Christian communities that sprang up everywhere. And the clergy placed in charge was drawn from the soil.

92. *Third Period.* From the Migration of Nations to the Conversion of the Slavs and Scandinavians inclusive. The invasions by Germanic peoples across the Rhine, the Danube and the North Sea into the old Roman Empire made both civil and ecclesiastic authorities aware of undreamed of races and tribes beyond the limits of the ancient *orbis terrarum*. The Franks and Burgundians settled down in Gaul, the Suevi, Alans and Visigoths occupied the Iberian Peninsula, the Lombards and Ostrogoths invaded Italy, the Angles and Saxons crossed over into England. All these invasions of the Empire by hitherto unknown pagans, made the Church conscious that her mission task was by no means completed.

93. But independent of the invasion problem and its solution, we find at the beginning of this period the conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick. Ireland had never come under the sway of the Roman eagle. Hence, that country had kept intact its native traditions. Patrick, a Briton, who had learned Gaelic as a slave in Ireland during his youth, was consecrated bishop in France, in 432, and then followed his interior voices to Ireland, where, till his death in 461, he labored heroically and successfully on the conversion of all Ireland. He immediately began to utilize the entire native setup, suppressing only those usages which the Christian religion condemned. As soon as he had obtained the conversion or the approval of a tribal chieftain, Patrick built a sanctuary and recruited his clergy on the spot. He chose his candidates from among the rank and file and even from among the chieftains. The Druidic monasteries had been tribal; the Catholic monasteries were established along the same lines. And where Druid monks became Catholic monks in a body, their possessions became Church property. It seems likely that the Celtic tonsure, adopted by the Irish monks, was taken over directly from the Druids. In his Confession, St. Patrick tells us:

> In Ireland they who never had the knowledge of God, but until now only worshipped idols and abominations—how has there been lately prepared a people of the Lord, and they are called children of God? Sons and daughters of Scottic (Irish) chieftains are seen to become monks and virgins of Christ. (White, *A Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, London, 1918, p. 19.)

In a Letter, he goes so far as to say:

> The sons and daughters of Scottic chieftains who are monks and virgins of Christ I cannot reckon. (*Ibid.* p. 29.)

And these monks and nuns were recent converts from paganism —first generation converts. Schmidlin says:

> If we may interpret Patrick's own statement in the light of later information supplied by his biographers, the credit is due to him of introducing the monastic system into Ireland and of inaugurating the monastic schools, the subsequent development of which rendered Ireland famous throughout Europe, alike for its piety and its learning. (Schmidlin, *MH*, p. 145.)

Speaking more particularly of the clergy, St. Patrick says in his Confession:

> The Lord ordained clergy everywhere by means of my mediocrity, and I imparted my service to them for nothing . . . (White, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.)

He continues:

> Wherever I journeyed for your sake, through many perils, even to outlying regions beyond which no man dwelt, and where never had anyone come to baptize, or ordain clergy, or confirm the people, I have, by the bounty of the Lord, initiated everything, carefully and very gladly, for your salvation. (*Ibid.* p. 23.)

These neophyte priests seem not to have been a source of sorrow, but a consolation and an ornament to the Church. Schmidlin says:

> It is to be noted that the priests and bishops to whom Patrick entrusted the continuation and development of his

work were in almost every instance natives of Ireland, and to this it was due that Christianity became almost at once a national institution. Although he was not himself a native of Ireland, he made no attempt to introduce men of his own nationality, or, as was subsequently done in England, to bring men from Italy or France. Christianity "was not looked upon as coming from foreigners, or as representing the manners and civilization of a foreign nation. Its priests and bishops, the successors of St. Patrick in his missionary labors, were many of them descendants of the ancient kings and chieftains so venerated by a clannish people." (Schmidlin, *MH*, p. 145f.)

94. Next in line comes the conversion of the Angles and the Saxons, who invaded England and pushed back the Britons. The Britons had been evangelized in the 2nd century, and had bishops of their own before the invasion. At the Synod of Arles, in 314 A.D., three bishops from Britain were present. Both the Angles and the Saxons, however, were still pagans and barbarians. In the conversion story of these invaders of the Island, two names stand out, namely, that of Pope St. Gregory the Great and that of St. Augustine.

95. While he was still a simple Benedictine monk, St. Gregory the Great had cherished the desire to go to Britain as a missionary to convert the Angles. As Pope, he could no longer think of doing so, but he did not give up his longing to see the conversion of the Island. In a letter to Candidus, a priest on his way to Gaul, he gave orders to buy, out of the revenues from the temporalities in Gaul, a number of young English slaves, ranging in age from seventeen to eighteen years. These pagan youths were to be accompanied to Rome by a priest who was to baptize them in case they became ill and were likely to die on the way. They were to be trained in Roman monasteries for missionary work in their native land. (*Epis. ad Candidum*, Migne, PL. Vol. 77, col. 799). This letter clearly shows that Gregory was not minded to wait till the third or fourth generation after conversion before selecting candidates for ordination. He wanted to give England native priests from the very start, though the English people and their native candidates for the priesthood were still barbarians.

96. Not content with waiting for the fruition of this undertaking, Pope St. Gregory, in the sixth year of his pontificate, dispatched St. Augustine with a community of forty monks to bring the light of Christianity to England, to establish monasteries, and to select and train candidates for the priesthood in them.

> Setting out from Rome early in the year 596, they had proceeded part way into Gaul when their hearts failed them, and Augustine's companions persuaded him to return to Rome to implore Pope Gregory to release them from their extremely difficult and dangerous missionary commission to such a wild and barbarous people as the English. But Gregory bade Augustine return to his companions, bearing a letter of sympathy and tactful rebuke, in which he makes this one point quite clear to them, that Augustine constitutes now their abbot and they are therefore humbly to obey him in all things. (Schmidlin, *MH*, p. 150-151.)

The companions of Augustine expressed fear at the prospect of working among such a wild and barbarous people as the English, but the Pope serenely planned to ordain these wild and barbarous people!

97. Two years after sending the first group to England, St. Gregory sent out a fresh company of monastic workers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus, with abundant supplies of books and things needed for the divine worship. Even before this, Augustine was consecrated Bishop of Canterbury by the Pope's vicar in Gaul. And in recognition of the great work accomplished in less than a decade,

> Gregory bestowed upon Augustine the pallium: . . . and instructed him to consecrate twelve bishops and also gave the plan for the establishment of an English hierarchy —twelve bishops subject to the Metropolitan of Canterbury, twelve bishops subject to the Metropolitan of York —all of them, during Augustine's lifetime, subject to Augustine himself. It was some years after the deaths of both Pope Gregory and Archbishop Augustine, however, that the project, as far as it concerned York, was put into execution. St. Augustine died May 26, 604, after having

consecrated Lawrence as his successor. (Schmidlin, *MH*, p. 153.)

98. Naturally, with the establishment of the hierarchy at such an early date, the first bishops of England had to be chosen from among the Roman companions of Augustine. But in 650 there was a Saxon bishop named Wini in Wessex, to succeed St. Birinus, and there were a number of native priests working among the Angles and the Saxons. At the turn of the 7th century, almost all the monks and abbots, as well as the bishops, were natives.

99. With temporary aid from Celtic monks, the Roman monks and their native recruits succeeded in converting almost all of England in about sixty years.

100. The mission in England formed a pattern of monastic mission activity which was in large measure followed later by the Irish and English monks who labored on the Continent. The *organization and establishment of the Church* formed an integral part of this medieval missionary activity. Schmidlin calls it "the keystone of the medieval missionary aim." (*MH*, p. 189).

101. On completing the initial conversion,

> one of the first cares of the missionaries was to create as soon as possible permanent centres around which the ecclesiastical life would revolve: they thus built churches, established communities, and installed priests. Monasteries were also founded to support and exercise the pastoral care of the new converts, to perform cultural missionary services, and to provide nurseries for the native clergy. Finally, the *erection of dioceses under the primacy of Rome completed the edifice of the organization. The aim throughout was to attain the most rapid possible independence and domestication of the missionary churches by training the native element to furnish the missionary means and missionary clergy.* (Schmidlin, *MH*, p. 189.)

Here we see the prominence given to the early establishment of the Church on a native basis.

102. With this pattern underlying medieval mission prac-

tice, it is not necessary for us here to go into details or to deal with the conversion of the Germans, Slavs and Scandinavians.

103. But one item deserves special attention. A little less than six centuries after Pope St. Gregory the Great wrote his letter to Candidus, asking that young English slaves be brought in Gaul and sent to Rome to be trained for the ministry, a sainted namesake of his, Pope St. Gregory VII, sent a letter to King Olaf III of Norway which bears a similar stamp. In Norway paganism had but recently been put down by force. Olaf asked the Pope for missionaries. In answer the Pope sent a letter, dated Dec. 15, 1078, in which he wrote in part:

> We want you to know that it is our desire, if it should be at all possible, to send to you some of the brethren (i.e., priests of the Roman Church), trustworthy and learned, so that they might instruct you in all knowledge and learning in Christ Jesus, to the end that well instructed in evangelical and apostolic teaching, you might be wavering in nothing . . . As to that, since, by reason of the distance separating the countries and still more by reason of the unknown languages, this is exceedingly difficult. We invite you—as We have announced to the King of the Danes—to send some from among the young and noble men of your country, to the Apostolic Court, so that, after a careful training in sacred and divine laws—under the wings of the Apostles Peter and Paul—they may be able to carry back to you, not as untutored, but as well-instructed men, the mandates of the Apostolic See, and that they may be able to preach worthily and to promote effectively among you, with God's help, whatever the program of the Christian religion may demand, not as rude or ignorant men, but as men proficient in speech, knowledge and morals. (*Enchiridion Clericorum,* n. 84).

104. This Papal invitation to send new converts to Rome for instruction and ordination speaks for itself. It carries the same argumentative force as the earlier letter of Gregory the Great to Candidus. These two letters of the two Gregories are almost at the extremes of the third period of growth in the Church, but they show a consistency of aim which can only come from an innate vital principle in the Church. They

give expression to the mind of Rome, to the mind of Christ, to the connatural principle of growth inherent in the organism of the Mystical Body of Christ.

105. *Fourth Period.* The Age of Faith, Followed by a Decline of Faith and Discipline. In the beginning, this was again a period of internal growth and consolidation similar to the second. It was in this era that those grand monuments of faith—the Gothic cathedrals—were built; it was in this era that the Crusades were undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Places; it was in this era that the first famous universities were founded, where Christian philosophy and theology flourished. There was some missionary work done, especially by the mendicant friars, to convert the Mohammedans. But Mohammedanism formed a barrier against missionary efforts eastward and southward. The great Eastern Schism proved to be another formidable barrier in the East. There was some mission work in the north of Europe, among the Finns, Karelians, Lithuanians and Laps. Franciscans and Dominicans worked among the Persians and Armenians. Several attempts were made to evangelize the Tatars. The Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino worked with some success at Peking, and became archbishop of that city. After a mission activity of seventy-four years under the Tatar rulers, the Franciscans saw the Christian communities totter in the Middle Kingdom when the Ming Dynasty came to power and suppressed Christianity by force.

106. In this 4th period there is nothing to indicate a change in the mission policy that had become traditional. The missionaries of the period were zealous and intrepid, especially those of the younger Orders. The Holy Spirit was gradually preparing the way for another great mission period, the fifth, which is still running its course.

107. *Fifth Period.* The Era of Geographical Discovery and Colonization. When, in 1415 Portugal captured Ceuta, across the Strait from Gibraltar, the Mohammedan fleet was bottled up in the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic became safe for Portuguese vessels. This gave the first impetus to voyages of

discovery along the African coast. In the ensuing years, Prince Henry the Navigator pushed farther and farther southward along the west coast of the Dark Continent, till he reached the Gulf of Guinea. Before the end of the century, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut, on the south-west coast of India, May 20, 1498. The eastern route to India had been found. Some years earlier, Columbus, in the service of the Spanish Crown, had tried to reach India by a westerly route and had discovered the West Indies.

108. Spain and Portugal were both jealous to protect their claims and their trading monopoly in the territories already discovered and to secure these privileges in territories that they might discover later. They appealed to the Pope, who drew a line of demarcation and granted the royal title of patronage (*Span.* patronato; *Port.* padroado) to the two Crowns in their respective territories. The title of patronage gave to the Kings of Spain and Portugal considerable rights over the missions and over the Church as a whole in these territories. Neither the Pope nor the Kings had the faintest idea what a large portion of the earth was involved in this transaction, nor how far-reaching and impossible the commitments on both sides would turn out to be.

109. The Portuguese system of occupation in India differed from the Spanish system employed in Spanish America. The Portuguese occupied coastal points, which they fortified, without paying much attention to the interior of the country, though they insisted on their right of patronage over the whole country. The Spaniards, on the other hand, went farther into the interior, where they established themselves and formed settlements. From here they fanned out and penetrated deeper and deeper into the interior. The Spaniards colonized the interior extensively with their own nationals, whereas the Portuguese did little of that.

110. The Spaniards considered Spanish America an integral part of Spain itself. Spanish missionaries did not work in a "foreign" country—in the same sense in which we speak of "foreign" missions today. That made the mission assignment

of the Spanish missionaries considerably different from that of the missionaries of the first fifteen centuries and of the present day. The old Roman missionaries to Gaul and Spain did not accompany Roman emigrants, who shared their interest in the spread of the Gospel, formed the main body of worshippers, and insisted on having a voice in Church policy. The Irish missionaries did not take with them to the Germanic tribes on the European continent large numbers of Irish settlers, who could have complicated the problem of providing the Germans with a native clergy by demanding that, in the churches which served both the Irish settlers and the German aborigines, the priests be Irish. The Spanish missionaries were not entirely free to frame their mission policy, but had to consult the civil authorities and cooperate with them. That should in great measure explain, and partly condone, their departure from the mission policy of the earlier missionaries with reference to a native clergy.

111. Spain was a large and populous country with an abundance of priests for any mission needs that developed during the 16th century. Even though the demand for missionaries grew by leaps and bounds, the homeland could meet that demand by sending out both regular and secular priests in increasing numbers without danger of depleting the home front. This, too, exercised a retarding influence on the development of a native clergy in Spanish America.

112. But, how could Portugal, a country with a population of less than 2,000,000, ever hope to do justice to the obligations undertaken of evangelizing the natives of the countries she occupied, as well as those of the countries she *expected to occupy later?* How could she hope to send enough missionaries to India, China, Japan, Siam, Indo-China, etc., and to defray the expenses of these missionaries? Yes, Portugal claimed that her *padroado* extended to China, Japan and all of Eastern Asia. She claimed the right to nominate bishops for these vast regions, and all missionaries had to meet with her approval. She was extremely jealous of her rights, and would not allow Rome to take any mission matters in hand in these regions without her express concurrence.

113. As long as Portugal had no competitors in Asiatic waters, and her revenues from the East Indian trade were abundant, she cooperated well with Rome, took care of the missionaries and their needs, and permitted a native clergy to be developed in India as early as 1540. St. Francis Xavier came on the scene in 1542, and sponsored a native clergy energetically.

114. With the entry of England and Holland, two Protestant countries, into the domain claimed by Portugal, the revenues of the latter were considerably reduced, her prestige was lowered and her jealousy heightened. She had played her role as patron of the missions well till shortly after the close of the 16th century. But in the 17th century she became both unable and unwilling to live up to her *padroado* duties, except in those coastal stretches where her nationals actually lived. But she would not give Rome a free hand elsewhere in Eastern Asia. Rome tried to be patient, but could not forever stand idly by while her own ecclesiastical obligations towards the natives in the interior of India and in the other countries of Eastern Asia were interfered with. Portugal claimed the right to nominate all bishops, but she withheld nominations in numerous places where Rome considered bishops necessary.

115. Rome had to find a way out of this difficulty. Up to now, bishops had always been under the direct supervision of the Pope. The Holy See decided to consecrate vicars apostolic with episcopal powers, but without the title of bishop. These vicars should be responsible, not directly to the Pope, but to a Papal Congregation, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. This arrangement circumvented the *padroado*. Portugal opposed it, and became more and more uncooperative. But Rome had its duties in regard to the peoples of Eastern Asia, and these could not be forever held up by an agreement which had become impossible.

116. The instructions of the Propaganda, cited in the preceding chapter, were sent to the vicars apostolic installed by Rome in Eastern India, China, Indo-China, etc., without consulting Portugal. These instructions make it abundantly

clear that the formation of a native clergy, which had previously suffered, did not make all the progress which Rome had hoped for after the circumvention of the *padroado*.

117. Portugal discovered Brazil in 1500. Though missionary work was begun there among the Indians three years later, it appears that no attempt was made by the Portuguese government or the Portuguese missionaries for more than two centuries to form a native clergy.

118. An important factor in retarding the development of an indigenous clergy both in Portuguese and Spanish America was the enormous difference between the cultural level of the highly civilized Portuguese and Spaniards and that of the primitive Indians. They considered it necessary to Europeanize the Indians and to raise them to the level of Portuguese and Spanish 16th century culture before admitting them to the priesthood. They did not take into account that the native priests of the Iberian Peninsula in the early Christian centuries could not have measured up to this standard, and yet they proved to be valuable churchmen.

119. Let us return to the Spanish mission effort in America. When we speak of early Spanish colonial and missionary activity we must keep in mind that this activity radiated from Mexico, Peru and Paraguay. Mexico embraced more territory than it does today, Peru encompassed almost one third of South America, and Paraguay was about ten times the size of Paraguay today.

120. Mission activity in Spanish America was tremendously aided by the attitude of the Spanish Crown. The government defrayed the expense of Christianizing the Indians. The annual outlay for missionaries, churches and chapels sometimes equalled the outlay for maintaining the armies of occupation.

121. The exaggerated importance attached to the difference in cultural levels and to the cultural prerequisites for Holy Communion and Holy Orders cannot be overlooked in a study like ours. The majority of the early Spanish missionaries deemed it necessary to refuse Holy Communion to their Indian converts.

In the first Apostolic Junta of Mexico, held in 1524, presided over by the papal legate, Martin de Valencia, and attended by 19 religious priests, 5 secular priests and 6 laymen (among them Cortez), the overwhelming majority spoke against the admission of the Indian converts to the Holy Table. It appears that the first Synod of Lima, Peru, came to the same conclusion. A later Synod of Peru, held in 1567, declared that, although the general precept of the Church makes Communion during Easter time obligatory on all, it would be more advisable temporarily to deny the "Bread of the Perfect" to the Indian converts, except in individual cases where the one or the other appeared sufficiently instructed, because their life of faith was still that of children.

122. We can partly excuse their attitude on the plea that they did not have at hand such clear pronouncements of the Holy See on frequent Communion and the Communion of children as are found in the decrees of Pius X. Acosta, S.J., who was present at the Synod of 1567 as a theological consultor, remarks that reference to the holiness of the Sacrament and to the danger of its desecration was being used by the clergy as a cloak to palliate their negligence and laziness in giving instructions to the Indians. Although the succeeding Councils of Lima (1582, 1591, 1601), Arequipa, La Paz, Asuncion and Mexico (1585), etc., put no further restrictions upon the admission of Indians to Holy Communion; and although the popes and Spanish kings insisted upon the rights of the Indians in this matter, it required almost another century before the Indians ceased to be discriminated against. A royal decree of April 16, 1604 demands unequivocally that the Christian Indians without exception be given Holy Communion at least in the hour of death. Let these facts suffice to show what ideas were prevalent among the Spanish missionaries of that age.

123. Under such circumstances one could hardly expect these missionaries to think of admitting Indians to the Sacrament of Holy Orders, which imposes more exacting conditions on the candidate than does Holy Communion. The first *juntas eclesiasticas* and synods did not touch this question of Holy Orders at all. The Synod of Mexico (1555) and the two Synods of Lima

(1552, 1567) expressly forbade the ordination of Indians and half-breeds. And yet, the Indians of Mexico, Yucatan, and the old realm of the Incas were not savages, but fairly civilized people.

124. In 1536, Archbishop Zumarraga of Mexico, with the help of the Viceroy, established the Colegio S. Cruz for Indian boys. Besides, he wanted to have a translation of the Bible made for the use of his Indians.

125. In a report to Charles V, written about 1549, the Viceroy of Mexico, Antonio de Mondoza, states that the young Indians studying reading, writing, Latin grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and music at this college had achieved satisfactory results, and that they clearly demonstrated how badly the mental capacities of the Indians had been underestimated. Then he adds:

> But I would by no means state that these young Indians should be admitted to the priesthood, no matter how learned or virtuous they may be. We must wait with this till the people here have reached the same degree of culture that we ourselves possess. (*Coleccion de docum. ined. para la historia de Espana* XXVI 290.)

126. After the death of Archbishop Zumarraga, in 1549, a strong faction among the clergy and laity spoke decidedly against imparting such learning to the Indians, because it would do them no good. It should be enough for them to know the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Salve Regina and the Ten Commandments. Also, the mysteries of the Faith should be put before them without any explanation, since they were incapable of having real faith, etc. This group opposed the translation of the Bible under the pretext that this would only give rise to all kinds of heresies. The Colegio thus gradually became a mere elementary school for almost two centuries.

127. A similar attitude was taken by the great majority of the regular and secular clergy of Peru. Even Acosta, a zealous advocate of the Indians, does not dare to advocate their admittance to Holy Orders.

128. Not until the Provincial Councils of Lima (1582) and Mexico (1585) was a further step finally taken. Both Councils annulled the prohibitions of the earlier synods by keeping a dis-

creet silence. The right of natives to be admitted to Holy Orders was conceded in principle. Perhaps this concession was due to a decree of the Congregation of the Council in Rome, a decree seconded by the Spanish Crown, which states that Holy Orders may not be denied to Indians and Mulattos, as long as they show fitness for the priesthood.

129. Even then the bishops were not inclined to ordain Indians, though they began to take creoles (sons of Spanish settlers and mestizos (sons of mixed blood, i.e., Spanish and Indian). At the end of the 16th century there were quite a few creole priests and some few mestizo priests.

130. Indians were, in practice, still discriminated against. In 1723 Torquemada writes:

> One still places so little confidence in their weakness, that one will not confer the priesthood on an Indian, or receive him into any religious order. (*Monarchia Indiana,* Madrid 1723, 1. 18, c. 13.)

There were indeed exceptions, but Solorzano tells us:

> The Spanish monks are accustomed to look contemptuously down upon their Indian and creole confreres. (*De Indiarum jure* I 171.)

131. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the number of mestizo secular priests grew steadily. That came about in the following way. I quote Huonder:

> Since, at the beginning of the Spanish conquests in Mexico and South America, there was a dearth of secular priests, the monks of the various religious orders took over the regular parochial duties in numerous places.
>
> Once in possession of these parishes, the monks sought to perpetuate their possession and to preserve their influential position in the face of the secular clergy and even of the bishops. This led to a considerable tension between the secular and regular clergy and to constant collisions between the rights of bishops and the real or pretended privileges of the religious. This dispute, which was carried on with passionate vehemence on both sides, dragged on till the end of the 18th century, and fills one of the most disagreeable pages of Spanish colonial and mission history.

For the purpose of strengthening their position against the powerful orders, the bishops now enlisted more and more native elements, especially mestizos, and stationed them in as many parishes as possible. In doing so, they seem not to have been all too selective. (Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenlandern,* Freiburg, 1909, p. 29-30.)

132. At the urgent request of Ferdinand VI of Spain, Benedict XIV decreed in 1751 that the parishes should henceforth be put into the hands of secular priests, and only in exceptional cases into the hands of religious. The same Pope issued another decree in 1753, repeating the order of the previous one, and extending it expressly to the Indian parishes. In consequence of these decrees, only 147 of the 521 Indian parishes still remained in the hands of the regular clergy in 1754. By 1793, in the Archdiocese of Mexico, only six of the 253 Indian parishes were not in the hands of secular priests. Thus room had been made for a more numerous native clergy, which consisted chiefly of creoles and mestizos.

133. A royal *cedula* of Charles III of Spain, dated August 12, 1768, caused considerable increase in the native clergy. It ordered that from that time on, in all Spanish colonial possessions, one third or one fourth of the candidates admitted to seminaries must be Indians or mestizos.

134. Statistics are very incomplete. In 1754 the Province of Trujillo, Peru, counted 10 Indians, 10 mestizos and a number of creoles among 443 priests; the Provinces of Piura, Sana and Lambayeque had 6 Indians and 2 mestizos among 165 priests; and the Province of Caxamarca, 3 Indians and 5 mestizos among 170. (Cf. Huonder, pp. 17-30.)

135. The Reductions of Paraguay were developed during a space of 179 years (1588-1767), and produced a race of model Christians. When, at the end of that time, the missionaries were ordered to depart, there were no native priests to take their place. Father Charles remarks, in his conclusion to Dossier 65, that this was not the fault of the Indians. (Charles, *Dossiers de l'Action Missionnaire*, p. 274.)

136. The christianization of the Philippines was begun in 1565, with the arrival of Legazpi. No effort was made for more than a century thereafter to ordain natives of Filipino blood, though a number of boys of Spanish ancestry were ordained. A Spanish royal decree of Aug. 22, 1677 ordered that: first, the Archbishop (of Manila) should make all efforts that he possibly could to maintain at their studies such natives of the Islands, of Filipino blood, who are inclined to that pursuit; second, when he found them properly instructed, he should, in due time, promote them to Holy Orders; third, for this purpose boys should enter the colleges that the Dominicans and Jesuits maintain until a seminary be founded.

137. The Archbishop, who was the recipient of this decree, thought otherwise, and suggested that what should be done was to send from Spain those religious who were most zealous for the conversion of souls. The King had expressed the mind of the Church; the Archbishop was simply expressing the mind of the Archbishop.

138. A second royal *cedula,* signed by King Charles II, came in 1697. It ordered the governor to inform the king as to whether there was a seminary-college in the metropolitan church of Manila. In the event that no such seminary-college existed, the governor should state the cost of its foundation and maintenance. Another *cedula,* under date of April 28, 1702, ordered the founding of a seminary in Manila for eight Filipino seminarians. The governor and the archbishop each received a separate copy of this *cedula.*

Archbishop Camacho began work on the foundation of this seminary in 1703. He was the first to accept native Filipinos, as we see from a letter of 1708 by his successor to the King of Spain, saying:

> In order to provide sufficient priests for the Islands and apostolic missionaries for Eastern India, he (Archbishop Camacho) saw fit that the door of holy orders should be opened to the natives of this country. (Complete text in *Seminarium* for March, 1941, Manila.)

139. Against the wishes of the king, the seminary had been

diverted from its original purpose, and others besides seminarians of Filipino blood were admitted. He ordered in a *cedula* of March 3, 1710, first, that all foreign seminarians should immediately be removed upon receipt of this *cedula;* second, that of his vassals only eight, as previously decreed, be supported; third, that those who desired to be admitted as boarders should not exceed sixteen in number. (Conception, *Historia,* Vol. VIII, cap. XIII, n. 16).

140. Soon thereafter, the first Filipino priests were ordained. It took almost two centuries more, before the Islands received their first Filipino bishop. He was Jorge Barlin, consecrated Bishop of Nueva Caceres in 1905. Today (1947) eleven of the fifteen bishops and archbishops are Filipinos. The Islands now have 995 native priests, 404 major seminarians, and 498 minor seminarians.

141. It will hardly do for us who live in the English speaking part of North America to criticize the policy of our Spanish and Portuguese neighbors in regard to a native clergy among the Indians. We have treated the American aborigines more shabbily in this and in other respects than the Spaniards or Portuguese ever did.

# 4.

# Other Arguments for a Native Clergy

## I. Arguments from Psychology

142. Various psychological reasons speak for a native clergy:

(1) In the first place, the native priest is naturally better adapted to the climate and the peculiar conditions of his homeland, much more conversant with the language and customs of the natives, much more intimate with his own countrymen, and much freer in his intercourse with them than the foreign missionary can ever be. In the words of Pope Benedict XV:

> The native priest, linked to his compatriots by the bonds of origin, character, feelings and inclinations, possesses extraordinary facilities for introducing the Faith into their minds, and is endowed with power of persuasion far superior to that of any other man. It thus frequently happens that he has access to where a foreign priest could not set foot. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, p. 445.)

To this Pope Pius XI adds:

> Moreover, foreign missionaries on account of their imperfect knowledge of the language are frequently prevented from expressing themselves. As a result, the force and efficacy of their preaching are greatly weakened. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 75.)

The foreign missionary must acquire all his knowledge of the land and people by study, and must always remain more or less of a stranger whom the natives will, as a rule, approach only with diffidence and misgivings.

143. Speaking of India, Pope Leo XIII says:

> Many things impede the work of the apostolic men brought in from Europe, but especially their ignorance of the native language, which is most difficult to learn; likewise their inexperience relative to the strange customs and institutions to which they do not even adapt themselves after a long time: so that European priests must needs live there as in a strange place. Hence, since the people entrust themselves with difficulty to foreigners, it is evident that the work of native priests will be far more fruitful. These are acquainted with the studies, the character and the customs of their people: they know when to speak and when to be silent: in short, Indians associate with Indians without any suspicion. How important this is, is hardly necessary to say, particularly in disturbed conditions. (Epis. *Ad extremas Orientis oras,* A.S.S. Vol. XXV, p. 718.)

144. (2) That the native priest is better adapted for the more sedentary pastoral work in hot climates, is stated as follows by a writer in the *Tablet:*

> European missionaries living in hot climates are for various reasons good only as pioneers, and deteriorate as stationary parish priests; their training and aspirations fit them for works of development, forcing them to be ever on the go, on the alert, whereas a sedentary life, on account of the heat, has on them a demoralizing and paralyzing effect. Only men belonging to the country have the necessary temperament to carry on the monotonous drudgery of a well regulated parish. On the part of the natives the psychological reason is more forceful still. For hundreds of missionaries who can live and eat like natives, *there is not one who can think like a native.* (*The Tablet,* London, Oct. 23, 1937, Vol. 170.)

145. (3) Another psychological element is brought out by the following: Masaharu Anesaki, professor of History of Religions at the Tokyo Imperial University, wrote in 1923:

> Christianity has occasionally been preached to, or even imposed upon, the peoples of Asia as the religion of the civilized nations of Europe, while Oriental nations have

been looked upon as backward. As long as this attitude prevailed, Christian missionaries conducted themselves in relation to the natives, as superiors towards inferiors. Doubtless, you cannot imagine what is associated with the word "native" in such expressions as "native converts" or "native helpers." Likewise, the word missionary is always understood as meaning a foreigner, living in his own way, and often, it would seem, looking down upon the native. The air of superiority becomes an attitude of domination; and in the native the consciousness of inferiority is accompanied by a kind of subjection, which borders on servitude. How should Christianity be able to develop fully where the foreign missionaries are the only teachers of the native converts? Can there really be Christianity where we find, on the one hand, pity and contempt, and on the other, subserviance or suspicion or rancor; where a haughty overlordship makes the laws for a servile dependency? But that state of affairs is about to change. Yes, it must change, if Christianity is to become the true religion of Christ also in the Orient. (Quoted by Charles, *Missiologie I*, p. 118.)

146. We may plead that this accusation appears exaggerated and that it fails to make a distinction between Catholics and Protestants. We do not mean to say by this that the accusation of the Japanese professor does not rightly apply to some Catholic missionaries. But when everything is said and done, we must take Asiatics and Africans as they are, with their national prejudices and racial susceptibilities. In the eyes of all Asiatics and Africans, a native clergy and hierarchy, fully recognized and respected by Europeans and Americans, in a Christian way, furnishes the best proof that the Catholic Church is not an aristocratic club for a privileged few, but a loving Mother to all mankind.

147. (4) It likewise happens all too often that the foreign missionary, especially if he is a citizen of a proud nation that rules the mission field as a subordinate colony, is either indifferent, unfriendly, or openly hostile to the legitimate customs, traditions and national aspirations of the people among whom he works, and tries to Europeanize everything, or, what is

worse, to work for the permanent political control of his own country over the territory. Pope Benedict XV wisely remarks, in addressing the missionaries:

> These words of the Lord are addressed to each one of you: "Forget your people and your father's house" (*Ps.* 44, 11); remember then that you are not to propagate the kingdoms of men, but that of Christ; that you are not to enroll citizens into any country of this world, but of the next. It would be regrettable indeed were any of the missionaries to be so forgetful of their dignity as to think more of their earthly than of their heavenly country, and were too much bent upon extending its earthly glory and power. This would indeed be a plague most deadly to their apostolate, which would kill in the preacher of the Gospel every activity for the love of souls, and would undermine his authority with the public.
>
> However barbarous and savage they be, men rather easily understand what it is that the missionary expects from them, and they are very shrewd in detecting whether any of his expectations be at variance with their own spiritual advantage. Suppose him then to be in any way preoccupied in worldly interests, and instead of acting in everything like an apostolic man, to appear to further the interests of his own country, people will at once suspect his intentions, and may be led to believe that the Christian religion is the exclusive property of some foreign nation, that adhesion to this religion implies submission to a foreign country and the loss of one's own national dignity.
>
> Some of the mission accounts, which have in recent years begun to spread, are very painful reading, as one finds there the anxiety not so much to extend the Kingdom of God as to increase the power of the missionary's own country. We are surprised it does not occur to the writers to what extent the mind of the heathen is in danger of being thus repelled from religion . . . (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, pp. 446-447.)

The native priest escapes this pitfall, since he is one with his countrymen in birth, character, allegiance and interests.

## II. Argument from the Insufficiency of Foreign Missionaries

148. A point that must always be stressed in discussing the need of a native clergy in mission lands is that thorough Christianization of a pagan country means more than a mere elementary explanation of the catechism to the people. It means also a deeper dogmatic, moral, ascetical and disciplinary grounding of the Church, an activity which consumes much time and labor. Foreign missionaries are too few and have too large a field to enable them to take care both of convert-making and of the deeper indoctrination of their new Christians. For the simple pagans, the Catholic religion is a complicated religion, and conversions cannot be effected hurriedly. These are further retarded by the sacramental character of that religion, which obliges the missionary to dwell more or less continually in the midst of his flock, and leaves him little time to go farther afield so as to do extensive convert work among the pagans.

149. As Christian centres multiply and develop into full-blown parishes, the dearth of missionaries makes itself more and more felt, for it is obvious that foreign reinforcements cannot keep pace with the twofold need of convert-making and parochial administration. Thus the necessity for recruiting priests from the mission field itself becomes both urgent and compelling, since the work of convert-making should not be halted. Pope Benedict XV, addressing the superiors of the mission fields, says:

> When he (the missionary) has converted a few thousands out of an extensive population, he should not draw the line there and rest contented. He must, no doubt, foster, bring up and protect those whom Jesus Christ has begotten, nor should he allow them to drift and perish. But let him not imagine that he has done his duty, unless he strives with all his strength and without flagging to bring Christian truth and life within the reach of all the others, whose number is infinitely greater. In order then that the preaching of the Gospel should come within everyone's

hearing more successfully and quickly, he will find it useful to found other mission stations and centres, which will grow into so many seats of new vicariates and prefectures into which the same mission should be divided as soon as opportunities allow. (Epis. Apos. *Maximum Illud,* A.A.S. Vol. 11, p. 443.)

150. That is quite a program! Missionaries from Europe and America can never be so numerous that they will be able to put the Pope's program into effect without help from a native clergy. At present, American priests in the foreign missions number 1,212. The foreign missions need hundreds of thousands.

151. In 1893, Pope Leo XIII said:

> It must be pointed out that foreign missionaries are much fewer in number than would suffice to cultivate carefully the actually existing Christian communities. That is quite evident from mission statistics . . . But if even now foreign priests are inadequate to meet the demands of the care of souls, what of the future, when the number of Christians has multiplied? Nor is there any hope that the number of those whom Europe sends will increase in proportion. (Epis. *Ad extremas Orientis oras,* A.S.S. Vol. XXV, p. 718.)

Pope Pius XI adds:

> Europe itself, whence most of the missioners come, is in need of clergy and this at a time when it is very important that with the help of God our separated brethren should be led back to the unity of the Church and delivered from their errors. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, pp. 75-76.)

152. The conclusion is inevitable. Let us phrase it in the words of Pope Leo XIII:

> If we are resolved to have regard for the salvation of the people of India, (and for that matter, of all peoples), and to establish a lasting foundation for the Christian name in those vast regions, it is necessary to select from among the natives those who, after careful training, will have to discharge the priestly office and functions. (Epis. *Ad extremas Orientis oras,* A.S.S. Vol. XXV, p. 718.)

## III. Argument from the Exigencies of War, Persecution and Political Upheavals

153. This argument is based on the experience that wars, persecutions and revolutions have in the past seriously set back and even totally wiped out extensive missionary endeavors due to a lack of native priests. The threat of these scourges has not been removed from the world. In fact, it remains very real. Here, native priests are often the only answer.

154. With reference to war and persecution, Pope Leo XIII wrote:

> The history of the Chinese, Japanese and Ethiopians speaks quite clearly about this fact. Among the Japanese and Chinese, hatred and disaster have more than once pressed heavily on Christianity. Foreign priests are either killed or sent into exile; but the hostile force spared the native priests. And these priests, exceedingly well versed in the language and customs of their country, and relying upon their relatives and friends, not only could remain safely in their country, but could also administer the Sacraments, and freely exercise throughout the nation the duties connected with the government of souls. On the contrary, in Ethiopia, where the Christians already numbered two hundred thousand, the sudden storm of a persecution, after it killed or exiled European priests, completely eradicated the fruit of years of toil, because there was at hand no native clergy at all. (Epis. *Ad extremas Orientis oras,* A.S.S. Vol. XXV, p. 719.)

155. Pope Pius XI calls attention to the dangers of wars and revolutions in the following words:

> In addition there are other inconveniences which should be taken into account . . . Suppose that on account of a war or on account of other political events, one government supplants another in the territory of the missions, and that it demands or orders expulsion of foreign missioners of a certain nationality; suppose likewise, that the inhabitants who have attained a higher degree of civilization, and as a result a corresponding civil maturity, should wish to render themselves independent, drive from their

territory both the governor and the soldiers and the missionaries of a foreign nation under whose rule they are, and that they cannot do this save by recourse to violence, what great harm would accrue to the Church in those regions, we ask, unless the native clergy, which has been spread as a network throughout the territory, could provide completely for the population converted to Christ? (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 75.)

156. World War II saw all foreign missionaries deported by the Japanese from the northern coastal regions of New Guinea and from other South Pacific islands, with no native clergy to fill the gap. Similarly, American, Italian, German, Dutch and other missionaries were put into concentration camps or deported by the Japanese, with either an insufficient native clergy or none at all to carry on the work. Father Keller says:

> Due to the war, in most nations where the priesthood has been strong, there is . . . a grave shortage in clerical ranks because of the killing of approximately 20,000 priests. (*The Priest and a World Vision,* pp. 22-23.)

157. Colonies seeking their independence by violence and by the expulsion of nationals—including missionaries—of the nation governing them, can become a real threat to mission endeavor today as in the past. The slogan "Asia for Asiatics" is no idle threat. The Philippine Revolution against Spain in 1896, and the disorders following it, brought about the forcible departure of nearly a thousand Spanish priests from the Islands. Many parishes were left vacant. Mission work among the pagans had to be abandoned. Schism desolated the land. Many Christians grew up in ignorance of their faith, others degenerated into superstition. There was a native clergy, which prevented the total collapse of the Church, but it was not strong and numerous enough to prevent irreparable damage. But, in the words of Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila,

> the one link between the new and the old order of things, the only torch that kept the light of faith from extinction, was the Filipino clergy, small in number, but sufficient to bolster up the ranks until new recruits had arrived from foreign countries. (*American Ecclesiastical Review,* Feb. 1926, p. 129f.)

158. Thus the contention of Schmidlin is fully justified, when he states:

> It is especially in times of persecution and crisis (whether at home or in the mission field) that the value and necessity of a native clergy is proved. A native clergy is able to endure and survive local storms far better than Western missionaries who are at once subject to recognition, have no fixed standing in the community, are threatened in their succession, are cut off from their native land and are yet dependent on its support. Not seldom indeed is the fact of their foreign nationality the cause of the persecution and distrust, as it is also primarily responsible for a faulty naturalization of the Christianity which they represent, which, being offered by aliens, appears as an alien religion. (*MT*, p. 325.)

## IV. Argument from the Source of Support

159. Another argument for a native clergy can be formed as follows: While foreign missionaries continue to be the pastors of souls, the natives all too easily think that these pastors should obtain their means of support from abroad. Only rarely will natives learn to give financial support to a foreign undertaking, which from the beginning has depended on foreign support. According to Msgr. Zaleski, Apostolic Delegate for Eastern India under Leo XIII, the Christian communities of Southern India have local incomes in just those localities, and only in those localities, where a native clergy exists. He says that native priests naturally know much better than European priests how to tap local sources of income. The latter have to keep their eyes constantly turned towards Europe. He continues:

> Wherever a native clergy is in office, the people support their pastors and often build the churches, too. On the other hand, in the missions founded by Europeans, the people depend upon the missionary, and expect from him almost every penny. (Huonder, p. 14.)

Besides, the native clergy can subsist more cheaply than foreigners. Why should the natives be asked to give twice as much for the

support and subsistence of a foreign pastor, than they would have to give for one of their own?

160. As a conclusion to all these arguments for a native clergy, let us take the words of Pope Pius XI:

> Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, it follows that it is necessary to supply your territories with as many native priests as shall suffice to extend by themselves alone the boundaries of Christianity, and to govern the community of the faithful of their own nation without having to depend upon the help of outside clergy. (*Rerum Ecclesiae,* A.A.S. Vol. 18, p. 76.)

## Statistics for Missions under the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation Fide

(From *Le Missioni Cattoliche*, Roma, 1946)

The following statistics are as of June 30, 1939:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholics ..... | 22,746,986 | Catechumens ..... | 3,279,162 |
| Native Priests .... | 6,406 | Foreign Priests ..... | 15,505 |
| These fall into two groups: | | These fall into two groups: | |
| Secular Priests .. | 5,218 | Secular Priests ... | 2,110 |
| Religious Priests. | 1,188 | Religious Priests.. | 13,395 |

The following statistics are for the school year 1938-1939:

| | Major Seminaries | | Minor Seminaries | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Seminaries | Students | Seminaries | Students |
| British India .... | 13 | 598 | 33 | 769 |
| Indochina and Siam ..... | 10 | 581 | 19 | 1,537 |
| Japan, Korea and Formosa ..... | 4 | 226 | 10 | 484 |
| China ..... | 22 | 918 | 108 | 4,348 |
| Asia ..... | 49 | 2,323 | 170 | 7,138 |
| Africa ..... | 28 | 812 | 78 | 3,979 |
| America ..... | 1 | 35 | 5 | 104 |
| Oceania ..... | 4 | 58 | 11 | 406 |
| Europe ..... | 2 | 91 | 4 | 250 |
| Totals ..... | 84 | 3,319 | 268 | 11,877 |

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### Abbreviations

A.A.S. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*
A.S.S. *Acta Sanctae Sedis*
Coll. *Collectanea de Propaganda Fide*
MT. *Catholic Mission Theory*
MH. *Catholic Mission History*

# Study Outline

Gerald C. Treacy, S.J.

## Part 1. Paragraphs 1-46

As the Kingdom of Heaven is like leaven, the process of bread-making resembles the process of growth and development in the Kingdom of God. Periods of intense missionary activity alternate with periods of quiet growth. The Holy Spirit's activity is like that of the baker.

The leaven was placed by the Holy Spirit into the first measure of flour and water, the mass of peoples within the Roman Empire. In the process of kneading this mass, the Holy Spirit sent forth the Apostles and disciples into various centres of that Empire. This period is the Apostolic Age, an age of extension. Then followed the age of internal growth and consolidation. This process may be seen repeating itself throughout the history of the onward march of the Church of Christ.

The conversion of pagans and the salvation of souls is not the specific object of missionary activity, but its generic object. If the missionary's primary purpose were the conversion and salvation of all the pagans in the world he would face an impossible task.

The specific object of missionary activity is the firm establishment of the Church in those parts of the world where it is not firmly established. One of the prime requisites for the firm establishment of a native Church in any country is the development of a native clergy, adequate both in number and training to take over the responsibilities of pastors and prelates. Once the Church is firmly established in a mission field, the missioner's work is done. The native hierarchy and clergy should then take over. The evident conclusion is that missions are not meant to *convert* people but to *establish local churches* to convert them.

## Questions

How does the process of bread-making resemble the development of Christ's Kingdom?

What is the generic object of missionary activity?

Should missionary activity continue till all pagans are converted?

What is the missionary's specific work?

What is one of the prime requisites for establishing a native church?

Is a native clergy merely an ornament in the mission Church?

Is the native clergy a reward bestowed upon a mission Church?

Why did not the missioners of the 18th and 19th centuries speed the development of a native clergy?

The priesthood is not primarily a personal dignity. Explain.

Should native religious communities be founded in the mission fields?

## Part 2. Paragraphs 47-74

The development of a native clergy has always been the desire of the Church. It is the Church's mind, expressed in official pronouncements. The early missionaries knew this mind well and acted accordingly. The missionaries of the era of discovery and exploration seemed to think that the natives had to accommodate themselves to European culture and customs before they could receive Holy Orders. They had to be reminded by Rome of the mind of the Church.

Beginning with the Council of Trent we can trace the tradition right up to our own days. Trent made it obligatory to provide for the seminary training of youths. Every diocese was to have its seminary. This meant everywhere in the world. The priesthood knows no restriction of race or color.

Propaganda from the 17th century onward has consistently worked for a native clergy. Native priests too should have the same status as Europeans. They were not to be ordained to become merely assistants. Propaganda also made it clear that the canon of the Council of Trent is meant for mission countries as well as for Europe.

Not only Propaganda but the Popes have spoken strongly for a native clergy. From Alexander VII in 1659 and continuing to our present Holy Father, the message of the Popes to the missioner has ever been the same: "Work for the upbuilding of a native church by developing a native clergy."

## Questions

How did the missioners of the era of discovery regard a native clergy?

What is the meaning of the canon of the Council of Trent on seminaries?

Does the pattern of the Church's growth vary in essentials?

What do the series of instructions of Propaganda prove regarding a native clergy?

Why is Propaganda's instruction of November 23, 1845 of great importance?

Have the instructions of Propaganda the same force as Papal statements?

What reasons did Alexander VII give for sending bishops to China?

What did Innocent XI say was the value of a native priest?

Enumerate the theological arguments for a native clergy.

Why did not the instructions of Propaganda apply to Spanish and Portuguese mission fields?

Our Lord preached only to the Jews. He commanded His Apostles and disciples to preach to all nations. His Kingdom was for all peoples. The Apostles did not limit their choice to Jews when they ordained priests and consecrated bishops. After founding a local Church the Apostles chose leaders from the locality irrespective of race. Peter did not perpetuate a Jewish hierarchy in the See of Rome. Linus, his first successor was non-Jewish.

The Tradition of a native clergy continued after the Apostolic period until the Era of Discovery and Exploration in the 15th century. Spain and Portugal were the leading nations in exploration. Alexander VI divided the New World between them and gave to each Crown the royal title of patronage. This right did not help in the development of a native clergy.

Brazil is a case in point. Discovered by Portugal in 1500, no attempt was made by the government of Portugal or the missionaries to form a native clergy for two centuries.

Spain like Portugal considered the natives unfit for the priesthood. For example the christianization of the Philippines began in 1565. No effort was made for more than a century to ordain Filipinos. It took two centuries more before the Islands had a Filipino bishop. It was 1905.

Other arguments for the value of a native clergy. First there are psychological reasons, as expressed by Benedict VI: "The native priest linked to his compatriots by the bonds of origin, character, feelings and inclinations, possesses extraordinary facilities for introducing the Faith into their minds, and is endowed with power of persuasion far superior to that of any other man." Again foreign missionaries will never be numerous enough to *establish* the Church in all its fullness without the aid of a native clergy. Then too war, persecution, political upheavals have wiped out extensive missionary efforts due to a lack of native priests. Finally a native clergy is better supported than are foreign missionaries. For instances in Southern India only those localities have local incomes where a native clergy exists.

## Questions

Prove that the Tradition of a native clergy goes back to Apostolic times.

How soon did St. Patrick begin to recruit a native clergy?

What was the keystone of the medieval missionary aim?

What rights were given by the title of patronage?

What was an important factor in retarding the development of a native clergy in Spanish and Portuguese America?

What is the psychological argument for a native clergy?

Does christianization of pagan lands mean the teaching of the catechism?

What is the value of a native clergy in times of war or persecution?

How do natives regard the duty of supporting foreign missionaries?

What was the directive of Pius XI to Mission Superiors?

## A Note on the Authors

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The study outline and questions for "A Native Clergy for Mission Countries," were formulated by Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., who has prepared study club editions of various encyclicals.

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